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ABSTRACT

This workshop was convened by the Office of Child Development (OCD) to identify research issues and to set priorities for research related to bilingual/bicultural early childhood development programs proposed by OCD. Workshop participants were researchers and persons with expertise in the development of bilingual/bicultural preschool programs. The report includes the proceedings of the workshop and appendices which include a list of conference participants and invitees, the workshop agenda, and the text of the keynote speech on Bilingual/Bicultural Early Childhood Development. The main body of the paper includes presentations and worksession notes and recommendations on socialization, parent involvement, language development, cognitive development, and evaluation/assessment as these issues relate to bicultural children and programs. Also included are presentations on Head Start strategies for Spanish-speaking children, OCD's research priorities for 1976, conference expectations, and a brief summation. (BD)

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Bilingual/Bicultural Early Childhood Development Research Workshop Proceedings

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BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT

RESEARCH WORKSHOP PROCEEDINGS

February 1976

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PREFACE

The Office of Child Development, in keeping with Project Head Start's philosophy of initiating approaches that address the overall development of children, has begun a new effort called "Head Start Strategy for Spanish-Speaking Children." This program addresses the special needs of Spanish-speaking children.

The Office of Child Development recognizes that in order to foster the development of bilingual/bicultural children, Head Start must implement programs that:

1. Provide an environment where children can develop to their optimum potential;

2. Provide for individualization according to the child's language needs in either language;

3. Recognize the cultural and language attributes the child brings to the preschool setting and build upon those attributes;

4. Facilitate the acquisition of a second language; and

5. Recognize that in the areas of conceptualization and socialization, Spanish-speaking children might have a different frame of reference and therefore different learning styles.

In order to develop Head Start's capacity for implementation sound developmental bilingual/bicultural programs, the Office of Child Development, through the Head Start Strategy for Spanish-Speaking Children, will fund the development of the following four areas:

1. Curriculum Development;
2. Staff Training;
3. Resource Network; and
4. Research.

The initial step in the development of the research area was to identify and prioritize research issues which should be addressed. In order to accomplish this task, the Bilingual/Bicultural Early Childhood Development Workshop was conducted. Researchers and persons with expertise in the development of bilingual/bicultural preschool programs were invited to discuss research issues and make recommendations to the Office of Child Development. This document constitute the research workshop proceedings. We hope it will be the precursor of research which will promote further the enhancement of our children.

INTRODUCTION

The Bilingual/Bicultural Early Childhood Development Workshop was sponsored by the Office of Child Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in February 1976. Attendees were invited from local Head Start programs, federal and state agencies, universities, and other representatives from the private sector (see Appendix A).

The goals of the workshop were:

1. To confer with bilingual/bicultural and early childhood development researchers;

2. To have selected speakers present their reactions to "Preschool Bilingual/Bicultural Education for Spanish-speaking/surnamed children: A research review and strategy paper," by Amado Padilla et al.

3. To have participants make specific recommendations for research in five areas: socialization, parent involvement, language development, cognitive development, and evaluation/assessment.

4. To have participants establish research priorities for studying early childhood development of bilingual/bicultural Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surnamed children.

On the pages that follow are the complete proceedings. The conference agenda has been included as Appendix B.

I. BACKGROUND

WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

by

Soledad Arenas, Director
Head Start Strategy for Spanish-Speaking Children
Program Development and Innovation Division
Office of Child Development

Ms. Arenas, on behalf of the Office of Child Development (OCD), welcomed the conferees to the Bilingual/Bicultural Early Childhood Development Workshop, sponsored by OCD. She stressed two principal goals of the workshop: (1) to provide OCD staff an opportunity to share with the participants their new effort on behalf of Spanish-speaking children; and (2) to provide participants an opportunity to share their views and research on Spanish-speaking children.

Ms. Arenas noted that during the past year and a half, there have been extensive discussions within OCD regarding the needs of Spanish-speaking children. Issues for consideration centered around three basic questions: (1) What are the special needs of Spanish-speaking preschool children; (2) How is Head Start meeting these needs? (3) How can Head Start improve on its services to these children? Approximately 15 percent of Head Start children are Spanish-surnamed; these children enter Head Start with varying degrees of language development in English and Spanish. In order to optimize their development and learning potential, it was felt that their unique differences in the area of language, conceptual, and social development should be addressed. Head Start programs should provide an environment which promotes and enhances the unique attributes of the Spanish-speaking children and which provides the children with a smooth transition from the home to the preschool.

In the past, it has been difficult for Head Start programs to provide the required individualized services for Spanish-speaking children because: (1) the number of trained staff in the bilingual/bicultural early childhood education field is limited; (2) curricula designed for meeting the needs of bilingual/bicultural children are scarce; (3) support resources for implementing bilingual/bicultural programs have not been established; and (4) research data on the intellectual and social development of Spanish-speaking children are limited.

An approach for building Head Start capacity for implementing sound developmental bilingual/bicultural programs was conceptualized by the Office of Child Development in consultation with representatives from the Spanish-speaking communities, knowledgeable about early childhood education and the special needs of Spanish-speaking children.

According to Ms. Arenas, there is limited research in the area of bilingualism, especially as it relates to the preschool child. For this reason, one of the most difficult aspects in developing the Head Start strategy for Spanish-speaking children was finding research data to justify recommendations of the various strategy areas. There are many questions still to be addressed, and research continues to be a very vital part of the effort. Ms. Arenas expressed the hope that by participants and attendees working together and sharing information during the workshop, research priorities would be delineated to generate data leading to a better understanding of how to provide for Spanish-speaking children's needs.

After her presentation, Ms. Arenas introduced the Director of the Office of Child Development, Dr. John Meier.

ADDRESS

by

Dr. John H. Meier, Director
Office of Child Development

Dr. Meier's address focused on the importance of the preschool experience as evidenced by various research. Especially noted were cognitive development intrinsic to which is the mastery of language. In this area, as Dr. Meier noted, Head Start preschool programs have some of the greatest measurable outcomes. Dr. Meier continued by reviewing bilingualism and the importance of language in developing social competence. He concluded with a discussion of the importance of developmental continuity projects. Below is an excerpt of Dr. Meier's address.

Common to those institutions and individuals who are in increasing numbers interested in the development of preschool bilingual/bicultural education is the awareness of one basic fact that is continually reaffirmed by researchers and social observers: the crucial and determining influence exerted by the early years in a child's life and the building of the self-concept of the child and the influence that these two factors have on the whole of the child's life and his/her future. That there are much better gains by children as a result of their preschool experience is maintained by Halsey, who, in his study of intervention with deprived children in four areas of Britain, concluded that the experiments of preschool were successful. He found that the progress which children made in the preschool situation continued to the end of the British equivalent of the Grade One year.

The initial thrust behind research into early childhood development was chiefly directed towards the more intellectual aspects of a child's personality. Jean Piaget and Benjamin Bloom have paved the way for a greater understanding of the process of development and of the importance of the early years in this process. Bloom's widely quoted but questionable conclusion, based on an analysis of the impressive predictive power of IQ scores obtained by five years of age, is that 50 percent of intellectual development takes place between conception and age four.

The emphasis on cognitive development focused attention on the ability of the child to generalize, to formulate ideas and to solve problems. Intrinsic to the development of such cognitive skills is the mastery of language, and the importance of this mastery is compounded by the fact that both success and failure seem to have a cumulative effect on the development of the child.

This means that linguistic inadequacy not only makes success impossible, but also leads to further failures since later steps are generally based on concepts and competencies acquired during previous stages.

Preschool programs developed by Head Start with realistic objectives and a clear philosophy have shown much better gains by children as a result of their preschool experience. Regarding cognitive development and socialization patterns, health and nutrition, Head Start has some of the greatest measurable outcomes.

One of the most significant shifts in educational thinking over the past decade has been from a preoccupation with complete Americanization and acculturation of all minorities, to an increasing concern with the utilization of the native language as a medium of instruction.

Recent studies document positive aspects of the validity of bilingual methods, for example, according to Bruner, for those children who speak only Spanish, the most effective method of optimizing their potential for cognitive development is through the use of their native vernacular. Research by other psycholinguists suggests that children instructed in their weaker language were restrained in the problem solving areas. Although research is by no means extensive in the area of language development of Spanish-speaking children, research conducted by Lambert and Peale indicates that children with equal proficiency in two languages are markedly superior to monolingual children on verbal and non-verbal tests of intelligence.

The term "bilingual" lends itself to many interpretations. Bilingualism refers to the facility in the use of two languages, ranging from a minimal knowledge of either language to a high level of proficiency in both. The concepts of bilingualism and biculturalism are closely related in the Southwest. Thus, in the Southwest, bilingualism always connotes biculturalism. Although interrelated and interdependent, bilingualism and biculturalism are two distinct phenomenas. Biculturalism is possible without bilingualism as can be documented by studying the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado, most of whom are English dominant.

Language is in many ways a central issue in the development of social competence, thus, children having two languages need encouragement and fostering of both languages which would be equally central in the development of a child's social competence.

A common assumption among students of child language has been that the child has mastered the syntax of his/her native language by about age five. Accordingly, most of the research carried out in the area of acquisition of syntax has concentrated on children under five years of age, dealing with the period of rapid progress and more readily observable changes in the child's degree of

knowledge. Summaries and discussion of the literature dealing with the early period are presented in several comprehensive works, among them, Slobin and McNeill. Penfield has carried out important research dealing with hemispheric language dominance.

As more and more information becomes available on the developmental needs of young children, policy makers and practitioners are finding organizational structures and programs to enhance the child's need for a continuum of growth experiences through developmental continuity projects. Whereas there has been a tradition of kindergarten, the trend now is to a much closer articulation between the preschool and elementary years.

The development in recent years of reliable observation techniques for assessing the cognitive, emotional, and social behavior of young children in natural settings gives promise that in the near future we shall have valid evidence regarding the effects of early intervention and other important aspects of the child's development beyond those measured by conventional tests of intelligence and achievement.

HEAD START STRATEGIES FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN

by

Dr. Jenny Klein, Acting Chief
Program Development and Innovation Division
Office of Child Development

Dr. Klein reviewed the Head Start commitment to bilingual/bicultural children and the importance of developing programs for these children within the total Head Start effort. In addition, Dr. Klein emphasized the role which parent involvement plays in the program. Dr. Klein described four areas of the Bilingual/Bicultural Head Start Strategy for Spanish-Speaking Children: staff training, curriculum development, the resource network, and research.

Many children in this country have been deprived of the benefits of knowing more than one language. For example, during the first part of this century, the desire to become an "American" caused many newly arrived immigrants to place great emphasis on learning English, to acquire the new ways, customs, and lifestyles of the American society. People even changed their names. Since the immigrants' mother tongue had little commerical value, native language was often only used in the home and at small gatherings of people from the homeland. Many schools discouraged the use of second languages and until the late 1960's some children were even physically punished simply because they spoke their mother tongue on the school grounds. However, during the last decade, because of changes in attitude towards positive values of learning a second language and the ever shrinking size of our planet, the acquisition of a second language skill is now considered an asset.

Today over 15 percent of the Head Start enrollment are Spanish-speaking or Spanish-surnamed children. Head Start has always served bilingual/bicultural children and has always had a commitment in a variety of ways including hiring bilingual teachers and aides and encouraging active parent participation in the educational process of their children.

Programs for Spanish-speaking children must be developed within the context of the total Head Start effort. The Spanish-speaking child should not be singled out, but rather kept in the mainstream in an integrated Head Start classroom.

Head Start is the largest program serving preschool children in the nation. It was initiated as an experimental program and continues to be an experimental and demonstration program. Head Start is a comprehensive

program designed to provide a variety of services to preschool children to meet their health, mental health, nutrition, education, and socio-emotional needs. Among the Head Start experimental programs are Home Start, Project Developmental Continuity, and the Child Development Associate Program. All of these experimental programs give special attention to individualized instruction and emphasize working with both parents and other members of the family. These programs reach out to community institutions and agencies in an effort to provide continuity of services to the Head Start family and through the elementary school years of the particular child enrolled in Head Start.

Parent involvement is an important component of the Head Start program. The child is served within the context of his/her family and culture. During the past few years, we have expanded our limited view of the child in the classroom and looked at the child in the setting of his/her larger world - the family and the community. Through efforts such as Home Start, Parent and Child Centers, Family Home Day Care, and other preschool programs, we have learned that we must work closely with all aspects of the young child's environment.

The Bilingual/Bicultural Head Start Strategy for Spanish-Speaking Children includes the following four areas:

1. Staff training;
2. Curriculum development;
3. Resource network; and
4. Research.

Staff Training - Due to the lack of adequately trained staff to respond to the developmental needs of Spanish-speaking children, the Office of Child Development funded five Child Development Associate Bilingual/Bicultural Training Programs. Located in colleges and universities, each program will train approximately 40 persons. Hopefully, those trained will remain in the classroom and will assist other Head Start programs and local education agencies in the implementation of bilingual/bicultural early childhood programs. Training materials developed by these training programs should serve as models and will be disseminated to other day care or preschool programs interested in developing such programs.

Curriculum Development - The second aspect of the strategy will be to develop curriculum models for bilingual/bicultural early childhood programs. Hopefully, the curriculum models will reflect a broad spectrum of philosophies and approaches. These curriculum models will be developed by institutions with strong early childhood programs who will work closely with Head Start programs having high concentrations of Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surnamed children.

These curricula must be accepted by professional and ethnic communities, adhere to the Head Start philosophy and be flexible and adaptable to multi-cultural settings.

Resource Network - This network is being established in Region VIII and will provide access to bilingual/bicultural materials and offer assistance in implementing a bilingual/bicultural program and in-service training. Hopefully, materials developed and implemented through this resource network will serve as replicable models for other regions with a high concentration of Spanish-speaking children.

Research - The fourth area of concentration of the Head Start Bilingual/ Bicultural Strategy for Spanish-Speaking Children is to encourage research -- which is also the purpose of this conference. While some very good research has been done and more is going on, more is needed, especially in the 0-5 year-old age level. A great deal more work is required in order to provide adequate bilingual/ bicultural programs for preschool children.

In conclusion, our thanks to Ms. Soledad Arenas for her outstanding efforts in and on behalf of bilingual/bicultural children.

RESEARCH PRIORITIES FOR 1976

by

Dr. Edith Grotberg
Director, Research and Evaluation Division
Office of Child Development

Dr. Grotberg reviewed the process for establishing research priorities within the Office of Child Development and what recent priorities have been. She continued by discussing a shift in emphasis; beginning in 1974, to studying the child in the child's total environment. Dr. Grotberg traced how, in reviewing study data, the lack of Spanish-speaking families in the study population was discovered. She concluded by discussing new emphasis on the Spanish-speaking family and studies undertaken by noting new hypotheses and concerns within the Research and Evaluation Division.

Research priorities have traditionally been decided by the goals established by the Office of Child Development (OCD). Over the years, these priorities have been established to support the agency's goals and have contributed, together with those of other agencies, to achieving the goals of the Office of Human Development. Once these priorities are decided, they are disseminated in the form of priority statements which not only describe the revised areas of interest but also solicit proposals from those desiring to have their applications reviewed for possible funding. These statements have been sent to those persons and institutions on the Division's mailing list.

Recent priority areas have included Child Development and Child Abuse and Neglect. Under both areas, several projects have been funded which address the needs of Spanish-speaking children in the Southwest and in New York City, Milwaukee, Chicago, Cleveland, and Puerto Rico.

In fiscal year 1974, OCD became concerned that too much emphasis was being placed on studying the child as though that child lived in isolation. In other words, the environment both physical and social were not being considered, or if it was, researchers were assuming that by providing the child a quick series of intervention activities, each child would be innoculated and safeguarded against whatever his/her family or neighborhood would contribute or not contribute to his/her maximum development. We realized that such an approach was not adequate and that we needed to see and study the child in the child's TOTAL environment, including the family and community. Of special concern was the role of fathers and their effect on their children. Therefore, priority was given to the study of the family, different family styles and their effect on

children. Studies which have been funded under these priority areas seek to determine which type of family patterns increase the child's intellectual, and socio-emotional development and why. In a review of these studies and the data being collected, it was discovered that too few Spanish-speaking families were being included. Therefore, in the following year, fiscal year 1975, several research studies were funded which focused on the Spanish-speaking family. Among these were:

1. University of Houston - "Ethnic Variables in the Family";

2. University of Utah - "Preschool Multipurpose Research Program in Language Acquisition of 2-5 Year Olds";

3. Juarez-Lincoln University - "The Chicano Child in His Neighborhood".

Currently we are working on two major hypotheses vis-à-vis the family:

1. Families as well as institutions must change in order to enhance the child's development; and

2. Families do have the greatest effect on the child.

In addition, our special concerns are focused on (a) who is the target for intervention, parent? teacher? child? or other? and when and how should we intervene? and (b) what type of service can best provide for a continuity of development between infant care, day care, Head Start, kindergarten, and the primary grades.

CONFERENCE EXPECTATIONS

by

Dr. Ramon Garcia, Research Associate
Research and Evaluation Division
Office of Child Development

Dr. Garcia traced the history of the Office of Child Development programs designed to serve Spanish-speaking children and how the present strategy was developed. Using this as a basis, he moved into what the expectations of the conference were, both in terms of sponsors and attendees. Dr. Garcia listed specific questions for which answers should be obtained during the course of the conference.

The Office of Child Development (OCD's) programs have been serving Spanish-speaking children since its inception. Some programs such as Head Start were begun within the Office of Economic Opportunity and later transferred to OCD. Others have started since 1969 when OCD was established to undertake the child development programs and those of the Children's Bureau. Yet, despite the participation of Spanish-speaking children in our program, we did not have a plan or strategy for addressing the specific needs of these children. We spoke of language differential, of cultural differential, and of socio-economic conditions which these children experienced; but we never saw these children as needing a different focus from that being provided all children in our program. It was as though we were lumping all children under one label -- social-economically disadvantaged. However, we were soon convinced by several publications such as Carter's and the Civil Rights Commission that somehow the Spanish-speaking child needed a well coordinated program if he/she was going to obtain any benefits. It seems as though the mechanism was there but we still had to put the proper parts together in order to ensure success. Thus, the strategy was developed.

The strategy was not created instantaneously. We met, planned, spoke to various people, and planned some more. What emerged is something which we believe includes the major thrusts of OCD, i.e., program and research. Because we were able to tap our best minds in the program and research areas, we feel we have a good strategy. Yet, the strength of this strategy is that while we are making a special effort in addressing the needs of the Spanish-speaking child, we are doing so under the established and time tested OCD programs. Thus, initially it will appear as though OCD is deviating from its policy of focusing on children regardless of special need; however

once the strategy is implemented and established, it will be part of OCD's programming,and not just another special effort which will die as interest shifts to another group of children in need.

What do we expect from you during the next two days? We need your answers to several questions:

1. Has Dr. Padilla covered the areas of need? If not, what must be added or deleted?

2. Within each of the five areas, what are the specific questions that must be addressed and answered?

3. Among the specific questions, what sequence should be followed, what level of emphasis should we place and what level of confidence can we place on any effort initiated to answer these questions?

4. How do we treat the entire effort so as to make sense out of the results?

In essence, we expect your positive, active participation. Positive, because we are not asking what we have done wrong; we want to know what we can do right. And active because we want the results to be what you think or know is needed.

The conference will not provide us with every question that needs to be answered in addressing the needs of the Spanish-speaking child, because as we get more answers, we will ask more questions. What we need is a starting point so we can begin asking questions. We are asking you to help us find that starting point.

II. KEYNOTE SPEECH

STATE-OF-THE-ART BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

by

Dr. Amado Padilla, Director
The Spanish-Speaking Mental Health Research Center
University of California at Los Angeles

Dr. Padilla acknowledged the co-authors of the paper-- Judy Wagner Gough, Hortencia Plotklin, and Luisa Amadeo.* He stated that in preparing the paper they (a) examined the existing literature pertaining to bilingual/bicultural preschool intervention efforts involving Spanish-speaking children; (b) assessed existing preschool bilingual/bicultural programs; and (c) conferred with other persons interested in bilingual/bicultural, preschool intervention strategies for Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surnamed children. Doing so enabled them to identify several issues which they felt needed support by the agencies engaged in preschool age intervention efforts. Dr. Padilla then outlined the various issues which emerged from his search of the literature and which he and his associates used as the topics of the paper.

1. Preschool Bilingual/Bicultural Intervention Programs

The first section of the paper is devoted to the issue preschool bilingual/bicultural intervention studies and how the lack of such programs has left the Latino child without some essential experiences which schooling institutions deem necessary and which they assume each child possesses upon entering first grade. These false assumptions lead to the categorization of Latino children as "different" and deficient. Padilla and colleagues turned the issue around and thus agreed with the Castañeda and Ramirez position on cultural pluralism. This position suggests the agreement that a bilingual/bicultural child is not deficient nor different but instead is potentially richer because of his/her bilingualism and biculturalism. It is in our effort to develop the child's potential that the authors advocate the establishment of bilingual/bicultural preschool intervention programs.

*The complete research review and strategy paper appears as Appendix C.

2. The Present State-Of-The-Art in Bilingual/Bicultural Preschool Intervention Programs

The authors addressed the issue of terminology and found that there is a wide range of interpretations of what is meant by bilingual and bicultural programs and that this is an issue that needs to be resolved not only at the K-12 level but at the preschool age level as well. Padilla stated that there is no precise definition and that efforts to arrive at a working definition have been stifled by advocates and politicians who use different definitions depending on the audiences. This led the authors to conclude that when bilingual/bicultural preschool interventions have been so thoroughly defined and accepted that headlines can no longer be attracted, then it can be concluded that bilingual/bicultural programs have come of age.

3. The Impact of Bilingual/Bicultural Preschool Intervention Programs on the Family and the Community

The authors found little literature which addresses parental and community attitudes towards bilingual/bicultural intervention programs. One reason for this is probably due to the fact that there have not been that many bilingual/bicultural programs, and those which have been established have focused primarily on the public school student. These programs do not usually last more than one-third of the school day, thereby making it difficult to assess attitudes towards these programs. There is a need to study the difference (if any) between recent Latino arrivals and those who are third and fourth generation Americans of Latino background. If there is little data on family attitudes toward the programs, there is even less data collected on the attitude of the community.

4. Language Development in the Bilingual Child

The authors reviewed the literature and then proceeded to focus on present available research or simultaneous acquisition of two languages. The authors became convinced that the old arguments against early bilingualism will no longer be found valid and maintain that future research will show that it is possible to acquire two languages without serious problems. But, we should not overlook the contribution of the parent-child language dyads on the facility for acquiring two languages.

The author also called for research which looks at the teacher-child dyads as well as the socio-emotional environments available to the Latino child as he engages in bilingual/bicultural learning activities.

5. Bilingual/Bicultural Preschool Age Intervention Programs

The section of the paper assessing existing programs which are labeled bilingual/bicultural preschool programs is important. The authors found little correlation between goal statements and actual outcomes. While the authors admitted that their assessment had not been precise due to the lack of appropriate instruments, the programs showed greater emphasis on language acquisition and very little on bicultural activities.

6. Evaluation/Assessment

Concluding comments on the paper's section on assessment indicate a major need for development of special assessment instruments geared to the actual goal statements of programs which claim to be bilingual and bicultural.

III. SOCIALIZATION

Presenter - Dr. Earl Schaefer
Frank Porter Graham Child
Development Center

Moderator - Dr. Manuel Carlos
Fellow, National Institute of Education

Discussants - Dr. Miguel Montiel
Arizona State University

Dr. Bambi Cardenas
Intercultural Development Research Associates

SOCIALIZATION

by

Dr. Earl Schaefer

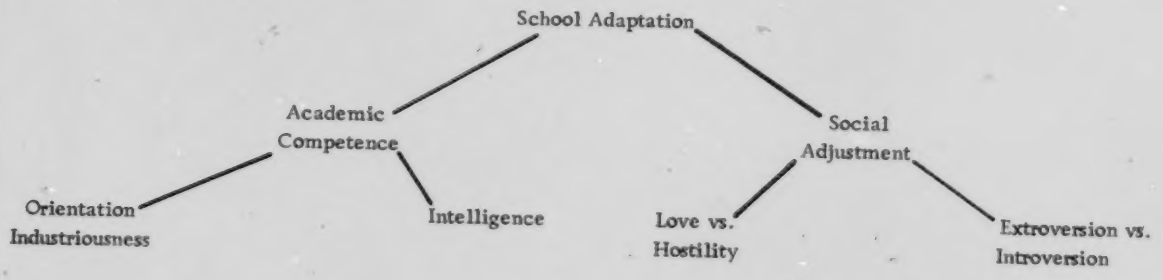
Dr. Schaefer defines "socialization" as the process of developing adaptive behavior patterns in the culture. Traditionally, socialization has been considered the function of the home, and education the function of the school. In reality, this dichotomy does not exist and both socialization and education take place in the home and the school. From this perspective, the home and the school must be more closely integrated and every home must be viewed as an experimental education program.

The issue then becomes how to develop a system of education that includes the home as well as the school. Any approach to this issue would be based upon a total life-span, life-space approach to education and socialization. Such a "socio-ecological developmental approach" would stress the individual's interaction with his social and cultural environment.

Another issue that parents and educators should consider is: "What are we trying to achieve in socialization and education?" Dr. Schaefer proposes that perhaps it is what Freud defines as maturity; that is, the ability to love and to work.

Dr. Schaefer* described several studies in which behaviors were characterized by a two-dimensional organization. The first characterized behaviors according to an introvert-extrovert dimension and a love-hostility dimension.

Later studies led to the model for classroom behavior shown in the following schema (Schaefer, 1975).



* Schaefer, E.S. Factors that Impede the Process of Socialization. In Michael J. Begab and Stephen A. Richardson (Eds.) The Mentally Retarded and Society: A Social Science Perspective. University Park Press, Baltimore, 1975, pp. 197-228.

It is important to note that many of these characteristics are important across cultures and across social settings.

Parent behavior has also been analyzed in a two-dimensional model consisting of a hostile rejection vs. loving acceptance axis and an autonomy versus involvement axis. Parents tend to develop reciprocal acceptance vs. rejection relationships in their children. Parent behaviors also influence intelligence and task-orientation of children.

In understanding socialization, it is necessary to analyze the mother-father relationship as well as father-child and mother-child relationships as they affect children. Children are also involved with another network of relationships within the school setting. To effectively deal with these issues, there must be a closer relationship between the family and the professions. This must include a shift in focus in all professions which relate to the child and family. Traditionally, the health and education professions have only been involved with the child, but research suggests they should be strengthening and supporting family care and education of the child. Researchers and other professionals should focus on behaviors and attitudes of parents working with children in the home. Focusing on family support systems would contribute greatly to achieving equality of educational opportunity and of health care for all.

WORKSESSION ON SOCIALIZATION

The participants at this work session agreed that little research has been done in the area of socialization of Spanish-speaking children. They further agreed that federal agencies such as the Office of Child Development (OCD) should take the lead in developing a perspective on research that would encourage more researchers to undertake studies in this area. One suggested study that is badly needed is the analysis of the socialization patterns of Spanish-speaking families and how their patterns have changed and are changing. The participants also felt that studies should be undertaken into the area of cultural pluralism and how the various institutions affected respond to this concept by reinforcing some "desirable" values of the Spanish-speaking families while allowing the "undesirable" values to fade out. The main question surrounding this area was who would change and how much? The participants agreed that the Spanish-speaking family would be the loser if we adhere to past methods for bringing about cultural pluralism, the non-Spanish-speaking institutions must accept change in the same degree as the Spanish-speaking families.

One of the participants stated that as the Spanish-speaking communities learn more about themselves, they uncover more differences among communities and that these differences should be considered in conducting research studies. For example, communities should be studied in terms of their own sense of value and findings not generalized from one Spanish-speaking community to the next -- especially if the backgrounds of the people in those communities are different; i.e., rural, urban; Puerto Rican and Chicanos; proximity to the Mexican border and detached.

An issue of great concern to the group was how the goal of bilingualism and biculturalism can coincide with the goals of the greater society. It was agreed that federal agencies such as the Office of Child Development should advocate the goal of bilingualism and biculturalism not only for minority children but for all Americans. The education of all children needs to include some level of response and commitment to learning a second American culture and language. It is not enough to encourage and support bilingual/bicultural in Spanish-speaking children if the monolingual, monocultural majority continues to accept the idea and practice of monoculturalism.

Recommendations for Research

The Socialization worksession submitted the following recommendations for research:

1. Identification of the various factors in the child's social, psychological, and physical ecology which affects his/her development and determine

which of these factors are easier to change and which have the longer lasting effect;

2. Identify commonalities among family life patterns across social, economic, geographic, and generation groups paying particular attention to how these common factors correlate with parents' expectations for themselves and their children; and

3. Determine if governmental intervention strategies consider points one and two above, in designing and implementing such programs and the consequences of this consideration or lack thereof.

IV. PARENT INVOLVEMENT

Presenter - Dr. Juana Canabal-Antokolotz
Puerto Rican Family Institute

Moderator - Mr. Richard Johnson
Director of Social Services and
Parent Involvement
Office of Child Development

Discussants - Dr. Alice Honig
Syracuse University

Mrs. Martha Bustamante
Sacramento, California

Dr. Ronald Henderson
Early Child Education Laboratory
University of Arizona

PARENT INVOLVEMENT

by

Dr. Juana Canabal-Antokolotz

In reacting to Dr. Padilla's paper several thoughts came to mind. The foremost, perhaps, concerns focusing on the family's needs as a prelude to developing intervention programs. Unless we look at the stage of family needs, program impact will have little meaning, especially if we are attempting to establish intervention programs which will have long-range impact, or will not "fade-out" as soon as the program terminates. Along with this concern for focusing on familial needs is the requirement that we look specifically at young mothers who, because of the young age at which they become mothers, did not have time to have a childhood of their own and thus may still have a need to be "mothered." This is more critical among the Spanish-speaking families where child rearing is seen as a "woman's problem" and thus, no assistance in coping with the child is forthcoming. This, of course, is further aggravated by the absence of a father and the residing of the young mother with her parents where she is still looked at as a child while held responsible for the child rearing.

Another thought that came to mind follows the first; i.e., assuming that existing intervention programs and measures can be applied to all families regardless of culture or socio-economic conditions. Because this is a wrong assumption, we need to expand Padilla's recommendation to include (1) definition of the role of fathers in the Spanish-speaking families; (2) obtaining information about each community of Spanish-speaking people; (3) studying the effects on children by the constant traveling of their families between New York and Puerto Rico; and (4) taking into account children's perceptual deficiencies and health related problems. This is critical among Puerto Rican children where the cultural barrier interferes with early identification of such problems.

WORKSESSION ON PARENT INVOLVEMENT

The session initially focused on concerns expressed by several participants regarding the "belittlement effect" on Spanish-speaking children and their parents. This "effect" is caused by both Anglo and Latino teachers who unconsciously or otherwise "put down" the children's language because it is not "pure." This was seen as having a direct effect upon the child's self image and his view of his parents and community. Thus, what we want them to change are the attitudes and behaviors of professional educators who deal with Spanish-speaking children.

The second focus of the session was in the home-institutional continuum which calls for the parent to become involved in the child development activities, while at the same time the schooling institution uses the parental contribution upon which to build the schooling experiences.

The parent involvement worksession submitted the following research recommendations:

1. Researchers must consider the lay person in conducting studies, interpreting the results and disseminating the acquired knowledge. This is important because lay people must get to trust the researchers about research; more important the results of studies must be seen as relevant, useful, and applicable without an intermediary to interpret.

2. Researchers should look at each unit in the family--institution--society interaction TRIAD. Answers are needed to such questions as:

   - Who changes as a result of these interactions?
   - How much change occurs and how desirable is this change?
   - Is the change equal in each participating unit or do parents and children have to change more?
   - Is there a coercive factor which forces participants to change when change is not desired and to participate when participation is not desired?

V. LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Presenter - Dr. Robert Lado
Georgetown University

Moderator - Dr. Ramon Garcia
Office of Child Development

Discussants - Dr. Eugene Garcia
University of Utah

Dr. Heidi Dulay
Asian American Bilingual Center

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

by

Dr. Robert Lado

In his presentation, Dr. Lado discussed several of the recommendations in Padilla's paper and focused on specific suggestions for research in the area of language development. Dr. Lado presented ten areas which he felt needed to be studied. These areas are:

1. Similarities in Language Learning

   Dr. Lado agreed with Dr. Padilla that there should be more long-term observational studies of bilinguals, more observational studies of classroom language and the development of long- and short-term goals to incorporate in the curriculum. He agreed with the emphasis on "potential bilinguals" and the need for true bilingual teaching.

2. Early Reading and Language Development

   Early reading is potentially a large factor in bilingualism and children can learn to read at the same time they are learning to speak. The studies of Dirken and Fowler support positive aspects of early reading. It is important to realize that preschoolers learn to read under different methods than school age children and more research needs to be done in this area. Evidence is accumulating on the positive side for early reading.

   Dr. Lado asserts that early bilingual reading is feasible and desirable and uses the evidence from Oyster Elementary School* and the Educational Research Center to support his position. Dr. Theodore Anderson, through the Preschool Biliteracy Project, proposes the teaching and reading of Spanish at age two and the reading of English at age three. Thus, the child would be biliterate by age six.

   Emphasis should be placed on research on early reading and research on the effects of curriculum. Research should be conducted simultaneously in various areas.

*Washington, D.C.

3. Discourse in Language Learning

As stated by Dr. Padilla, there should be a continuation of research on discourse and the nature of child discourse. These studies should focus more specifically on discourse functions, such as the use of the phone, social conversations, or story-telling. This research should relate to educational models.

4. Semantic Concepts in Language

There should be more studies of language in the areas of semantics. Research should be done to determine which forms are semantically difficult.

5. Language Processing Strategies

The studies of Hatch and Slobin give information on the saliency of form and the number of forms. Basically, there is a lack of information on cognitive strategies in language learning.

6. Applied Research in Bilingual/Bicultural Education

Research should yield a list of recommendations for teachers. In the classroom, teachers should include a variety of activities which will promote more student initiated speech. Teachers should become acquainted with language sequences and should be sensitive to individual growth. Materials should be made more compatible with developmental theories.

7. Different Learning Strategies

More research should be done in the area of learning strategies, such as the differences between rule-formers and data-gatherers. Krashen's studies indicate that learning strategies change. Studies should be conducted to determine if the different learning strategies are equally effective in promoting bilingualism/biculturalism and whether or not specific strategies can be taught.

8. Different Learning Rates

It must be realized that setting norms for learning rates is difficult. There should be more emphasis on preschool continuity and elementary school teachers should be given specific information on what skills the bilingual child brings to first grade.

9. Effective Variables

Research should be done on attitudes toward the second language and their effect on language learning. The studies of Gardner and Lambert bring up the issue of whether children in bilingual schools develop integrative motivation. Dr. Lado asserts that the total immersion situation of the Gardner and Lambert studies is not applicable to situations in this country.

Research should be done to compare the attitudes of children entering bilingual preschool and those entering monolingual preschools. It should be determined whether these attitudes change on contact with English speakers.

10. Priorities

Dr. Lado sees early bilingual reading as a definite priority in language development. There should be more studies on the relationship of attitude and aptitude in language learning. There should be an emphasis on long-term studies of bilingualism and a continued study of discourse strategies.

WORKSESSION ON LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

The group first addressed the issue of early reading and whether a child should learn to read before age six. Some supported the theory that early reading has tremendous impact on language development in the bilingual child. Others in the group agreed that preschool children can learn to read, but that this is not the critical issue. The critical issue as shown by various studies is that although children learn to read, they don't read and develop reading as a useful social skill. The group felt that it is important for teachers to know the difference between reading issues and language issues and that these two are often confused.

One of the participants has been involved in research issues in oral language development. Specific areas of the research include error analysis and sequencing in language learning and how to apply this information to testing situations.

The Office of Child Development has been conducting studies on children who are becoming bilingual. Part of the study has been on language interference and in isolating specific language forms. This information is very relevant to the type of educational approach to be used in the classroom.

The idea of interference was discussed from two points of view. The traditional view of first language structures interfering on second language structures does not appear to happen. What seems to be of greater concern is the structure of the second language interfering on first language structures in the form of code-switching and borrowing. However, the participants felt that little research has been done on true bilingualism and the practical implications for the classroom. This lack of research combined with a lack of meaning or interference further argues for more research.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is the active versus the passive use of language in the sociological setting. Linguists need to clarify what their expectations of bilingual education are. Some of the suggestions that came from the discussion were that we need to identify successful teachers, successful programs, and describe their characteristics. This could also be done on an individual level by examining successful children and identifying their characteristics.

The group also expressed a concern for second language methodology, and how to make what often seems an artificial situation more natural. At this point, it is not clear what is a natural environment and what are the characteristics of the input language that maximize second language learning. Research in this area would have practical implications for Head Start in terms of how best to expose the child to two languages.

Of crucial concern is what types of preschool models will encourage bilingualism. This is especially important in terms of parental and teacher expectations. This would not be a search for the "best" model, but rather identifying good models that work under specific situations.

The language development worksession submitted the following recommendations for research:

1. Studies should be designed to look at natural linguistic environment outside the schooling institutions that enhance bilingualism.

2. Studies should be initiated of the features of classroom learning activities and other settings which lead to effective language acquisition by children who are first generation Americans as well as those that are third and fourth generation.

3. Researchers in this area should pool their data and have each one look at the total data from different perspectives.

VI. COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

Presenter - Dr. Manuel Ramirez
University of California at Santa Cruz

Moderator - Dr. Judith Ramirez
Education Program Specialist
Office of Child Development

Discussants - Dr. Thelma Leaffer
New York University

Dr. Milton Silva
Medical College, Milwaukee

COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

by

Dr. Manuel Ramirez

A. Introduction

It was with a little trepidation that I agreed to talk about cognitive development in Hispanos because of all the areas of psychology and of the social sciences in general, cognitive development has been the most harmful to our respective Spanish-speaking groups. Children have been unjustly placed in classes for the mentally retarded, have been "tracked" in non-academic programs, and have been labeled as "retarded due to confusion and interference resulting from exposure to two languages and cultures."

B. Present Theories

I would like to start by proposing that the theories and concepts of cognitive development that are popular and used as the basis for educational programs are inappropriate for conceptualizing development in Spanish-speaking children. I refer, naturally, to the theories of Piaget, Bruner, as well as those of the learning theorists, and concepts such as mediation, locus of control, achievement motivation, intelligence, etc.

The aforementioned theories and concepts are primarily based on research on American mainstream middle-class children and not on research on Spanish-speaking children. These theories of cognitive development have been developed with one group or culture according to the values, world view and norms of that group, then applied indiscriminately to Spanish-speaking cultures, resulting in the view that Spanish-speaking children are intellectually inferior or develop certain cognitive processes more slowly.

Furthermore, they have proved detrimental because:

1. They have led to the conclusion that Spanish-speaking cultures interfere with the so called normal, universal processes of development in children. Consider the conclusions reached by Holtzman and Diaz-Guerrero in a recent publication on

personality development of children in two cultures. They concluded that U.S. children do better on cognitive tasks while Mexican children score higher on tests related to the effective domain. This is dangerous. It supports the theory that cognitive and effective development are separate, non-related activities.

2. Popular theories and concepts of cognitive development have encouraged this separation of the cognitive and effective domains, an approach alien to the Hispano world view including unity of functioning. This separation has emphasized development of knowledge regarding the physical environment to exclusion of development of knowledge of the self and of the social environment. I would hypothesize that this separation makes study of cognitive development in Spanish-speaking children difficult and in some cases meaningless because of closer interdependence of these two domains in Hispano psychodynamics.

3. Finally, the popular theories and concepts of cognitive development have led to views of biculturality or functioning in two cultures reflected in terminology such as pathological conflict, marginal men, and identity crises.

C. Critique of Present Theories

I would also like to propose that one of the main reasons why popular theories and concepts of cognitive development are inappropriate for Hispanos is that they have provided only a truncated picture of the relationship of personality development to world view and values.

Let us conceptualize development according to the following model:

Cultural World View	→	Socialization	→	Personality
History		The teaching styles		Personality
Values		of home and		development and
Life Styles		neighborhood		Bicultural
Languages				functioning

We see that the first part of this model has been largely ignored by social scientists. American psychologists and educators, in particular, have had a phobia about cultural values and world view. One of the most well known developmental psychologists, for example, has been quoted in The New York Times as stating that "American middle-class culture is after all the best culture in the world."

However, I think there is still another reason for the slighting of cultural values in most theories of development: the fact that the underlying tenets of many of these theories of cognitive development have a strong, pervasive , biological/genetic orientation. This is obviously the most dangerous characteristic of American and European psychology as far as Hispanos and other culturally different groups are concerned. Regardless of the cause, ignoring the world views has left a serious gap in the popular theories and concepts of cognitive development, especially in studying Hispano psychodynamics.

Recently, Alfredo Castañeda and I have been working with a model introduced by the sociologist Robert Nesbitt. We have found it helpful in conceptualizing different world views and, most importantly, the connection between world view and personality development.

Nesbitt identified two world views, each having its own unique components:

	Traditionalism		Modernism
1.	Sacred sense of life	1.	Rational approach (science)
2.	Community and/or group identity	2.	Individual identity
3.	Hierarchy (status and roles)	3.	Egalitarianism in interpersonal relationships
4.	Ritual -- important aspect of life in family and community	4.	Progress -- based on biological evolution -- change is good.

We have concluded that most cultures and groups are combinations of these two world views but that only the individualism, independence, and biological orientation of the modernistic world view are reflected in the popular theories and concepts of cognitive development.

D. Proposals for Change

Thus, I would like to propose that our master plan as psychologists and educators concerned with the future of Hispano children, should include development of conceptual formulas of cognitive development which are inclusive of Hispano world views, values, and socialization practices. This must be top priority if we are to succeed in our efforts for Spanish-speaking children. We should not lose sight of the fact that this is an important time in American history for those of us who are concerned with the diversity in society.

1. If necessary, we should break away from concepts, theories, and research methodologies of American and European psychology. We should look to our own histories, our own folk tales, oral traditions, and unique experiences with introspection and self study, our unique experiences with religion, with mainstream American culture, our experience with two or more languages -- all of this should direct us to the concepts and theoretical frameworks of cognitive development within what I would like to call Raza/Hispano psychology.

2. This conceptual framework or frameworks would help us to:

   a. Conceptualize diversity leading us away from belief in universal stages of development and in cognitive homogeneity.

   b. Focus on the study of the teaching-learning process in a natural setting leading us away from laboratory methods in which the abnormal, atypical environmental conditions result in anomalous behavior.

Finally, I would like to commend Professor Padilla and his colleagues at UCLA, for emphasizing the need to focus on the teaching-learning process in their paper. I would also like to note that in the teaching-learning model presented in Cultural Democracy, Bicognitive Development and Education, our central concern was to focus on bicognitive development -- for we feel that psychology has ignored the synthesis, flexibility, and diversity which emerges from experiences with different sociocultural systems and which is reflected in the concept of biocognitivism.

c. This brings me to the need for having a Raza/Hispano conceptual framework account for the much ignored positive aspects of the bicultural experience. Primarily, to focus on the role of synthesis and flexibility in psychological development of bicultural and multicultural children. The ability to shift cognitively depending on the specific demands of the situation; bringing elements of the two cognitive styles together to arrive at new coping techniques and approaches to problem solving.

In conclusion, at this point in history, we find ourselves challenged to try to change the course of psychology and education to ensure that diversity in American Society will be recognized, understood, and developed, so that we might use it to develop educational programs which can enable children to function more effectively in the complex world in which we live.

WORKSESSION ON COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

The session was initiated by a presentation of recent research by Dr. Thelma Leaffer of New York University. She gave an explanation of the three domains of research -- affective, cognitive, and linguistic. She has found that there may be dramatic individual differences between children in the cognitive area even though little difference exists in the linguistic area. She suspects that by age three, children are much more developed cognitively than they are linguistically. More cognitive testing is needed in both Spanish and English. The importance of this type of testing will be the direct impact it will have on future curriculum development. On the other hand, she feels that more research should also be done in the affective domain. Such questions as "How do bilingual children respond to emotional discrimination in both languages?" should be studied.

A discussant pointed out that her own research pointed out that better trained teachers do much more non-verbal contact with children.

Dr. Milton Silva discussed some of his own research with teachers' expectations and image of children. He found that some teachers place the more beautiful children in the front row. In other words, teachers concept of the child and his/her expectations of the child may have a direct correlation as to where the child is placed in the classroom.

He agreed with Dr. Ramirez's comment on the artificial categories in which children are placed. At the same time, he pointed out the need for more intra-group research (among all socio-economic levels).

The group agreed language acquisition is still one of the keys to success in the greater society. So the question was posed, "How do we help children become more verbal?" This raised the issue of the effect of teachers on students when the present language of the children is put down. Both Anglo and Latino teachers can assume unconsciously an elitist attitude regarding "correct Spanish" or correct English. All agreed more research is needed to observe the process of teacher-child language relations and to discover techniques for building on the child's cognitive strengths.

Some discussion took place about different learning styles - individual work versus group learning - and the need to further investigate the pros and cons of these styles and others. This led to a discussion of the factors in a Latino child which enhance cognition or discourage learning. One participant pointed out we cannot discover these factors without looking very closely at "La Familia" (the family) and the support it gives to a child in the cognitive process.

The group pointed out the need to bridge the gap between research and classroom application. A correlate to this is the need to make research more practical and with direct implications for the classroom.

The cognitive development worksession submitted the following recommendations for research:

1. Some Lambert-Tucker type studies (Canadian studies done with French and English-speaking children) should be replicated such as having children listen to tapes of sentences said in the dialect (Spanish) and English and make value judgments on speaker quality.

2. More tests of bilingual children should be conducted in both languages to see if there are significant differences within children.

3. More research on cognitive learning strategies should be undertaken to develop models of cognitive development. There may be more universality than we think. We need to find out where the differences attributable to language, culture, or SES are.

4. More research should be undertaken on affective variables - both in verbal and non-verbal areas.

   - What SES differences are there?
   - What language and cultural differences exist?
   - How do bilingual children respond to emotional discriminations in their native language? In English?
   - At what age do children pick up cross-cultural differences in forms of address? Are these generalizations possible or is it just a matter of individual differences?

5. What are the correlations of specific teacher behavior and children's achievement? Teacher expectations?

6. More research is needed on language usage. When do children and teachers use which language? For what kinds of functions? Do expectations influence language usage?

7. More research is needed on the effects of cultural differences?

8. Studies are needed of teachers from within the same cultural and language group in order to discover their attitudes, behavior and expectations of children from the same culture? The same kinds of studies should be made of Anglo teachers who have majored in Spanish.

9. The strengths of the Spanish-speaking children need to be determined? All affective qualities have a cognitive component. How can programs build on these strengths to take children further?

   - First we need to identify the strengths and determine their implications; and

   - Then we need to develop techniques for building on them in bilingual programs.

10. There is need for more naturalistic ecological studies of Spanish-speaking children in their natural environment to learn about their personal ways of interacting, learning, etc. From these studies, implications for classroom procedures can be developed.

   - Studies of la familia - the family group and its styles of interacting; and

   - What are some of the factors in the family/culture that influence or enhance cognitive development. That inhibit it?

11. We need to determine what works in bilingual/bicultural education: techniques, materials, and curricula; and we need to determine whether there are models from other cultural groups (e.g., Native American) which work and what we can learn from - and or adapt from them.

12. We should pay particular attention to the recommendations in Parts III and IV in the Padilla, et. al. report.

The cognitive development worksession also submitted the following recommendations for action in funding:

1. Research should look at and/or control the length of membership of a child/adult in a given SES (Socio-economic status) when doing studies involving comparisons between SES's within a culture.

2. Be sure research undertaken has a practical application to all those involved in caregiving and learning relationships with Spanish-speaking children (teachers, administrators, etc.).

3. Fund a **Bilingual/Bicultural** Center to serve as a clearinghouse-demonstration center for materials, curricula, and techniques of bilingual/bicultural education.

VII. EVALUATION/ASSESSMENT

Presenter - Dr. Luis Laosa
University of California at Los Angeles

Moderator - Dr. Charles Gershenson
Children's Bureau
Office of Child Development

Discussants - Dr. Amado Padilla
University of California at Los Angeles

Dr. Edward de Avila
Bilingual/Bicultural Children's TV
Oakland, California

EVALUATION/ASSESSMENT

by

Dr. Luis Laosa

It is generally agreed that early childhood education has a definite value and that early intervention in the child's life is an effective means by which to lessen or eradicate psychological, sociological, and educational problems which might emerge later.

Whatever the state of the debate concerning the relative importance of inheritance and environmental factors as determinants of intelligence, it is undeniable that a person's overall development is heavily influenced by his/her surroundings and in particular by the child's family. The first social experiences of the child take place in the home, usually through close contact with the mother.

Groups involved with the socioculture of Spanish-speaking people have begun to encourage the increased concern for a bilingual/bicultural approach in meeting the needs of these people. Historically, American social institutions, particularly education, had maintained that minority children are significantly retarded. Educational attainment trends for Spanish-American children, according to most research, are significantly lower than those of middle-class Anglo-children. The reason often invoked for this state of affairs was merely that Spanish-speaking children were poorly adjusted and ill-suited to the primary school which relies on the early childhood education afforded in middle-and upper-class families.

From the point of view of language, for example, it is clear that a middle or upper-class child during his/her early years acquires a vocabulary notions of syntax and means of expression which perfectly meet the demands of primary school. An examination of the books used for teaching children how to read will reveal a number of words which will not only be unknown to the so-called disadvantaged non-English speaking children but which will still mean nothing to them after they have been explained by the teacher. At the earliest stage of school education, the children thus enters a world which bears no relationship to the one they know. The situation is further complicated when these children are subjected to evaluation processes which not only test them on information foreign to them but with measures which are also foreign.

Evaluation has different meanings to different people. To many, it means the measurement of progress in reaching objectives. To others it may mean the analysis of reasons for the achievement or failure to achieve expected results. To others, it is understood to be a process whereby management compliance with policy and said management principles is monitored, a performance audit in other words.

Because there are many different understandings of what evaluation is, there are often a variety of definitions within the staff of a given program. Each will have a different set of expectations concerning the results of and the uses of evaluation.

In order to design an evaluation process sensitive to the Spanish-speaking and other ethnic groups, one must take into consideration some of the following factors: (1) What are the unique learning experiences of children in diverse cultures which can be used as a base and means for further development? (2) What differences between home and school make a difference in linguistic and cognitive development? (3) What constitutes a positive self-concept for children in each cultural community and how can it be fostered? These, then, are the issues that need to be discussed during this workshop and in every evaluation effort which involve Spanish-speaking children.

WORKSESSION ON EVALUATION/ASSESSMENT

The participants established two functions for the worksession:

- To articulate significant issues/areas which require evaluation/assessment; and
- To differentiate between evaluation/assessment and research.

The first issue identified was the need for developing new assessment instruments. The approach that should be used, however, is the one where persons out in the field are allowed to submit suggestions, proposals, and ideas for new and modified assessment tools. The consensus reached was that one must determine what must be evaluated before one decides which instruments to concentrate on and develop. In addition, one should guard against designing programs around the available measures and assessment technology.

The second issue centered on the problem of normative behavior. In addressing this issue, the following must be considered: Is normative behavior something that is desired by parents, community, and educators? In this issue, one needs to ask the question of who is being served by evaluation efforts; i.e., the educators, the professional researchers, the parent or the child. In other words, who will gain the most from the results of any evaluation effort?

The question was raised "Is helping these kids a real priority of teachers, researchers, and administrators?" Researchers need to get at the issue of competency of teachers and administrators. They need to be abstract. There is concern about what teacher competencies should be and what sort of classroom incentives are needed to allow researchers into the classroom so that teachers can share what they have. These incentives should come from agencies such as OCD.

Evaluation and research should be ongoing and evaluation/research people need to be in the class observing kids and teachers on a daily basis not on a 10 percent contract basis. OCD should take a close look at the self-assessment evaluation instruments it has developed.

The participants agreed that there is the problem of directors who do not have sufficient skills or training to do evaluations. Such directors need to be convinced that despite an outside evaluators's personal bias, the result of evaluation efforts are worth the time and effort. In addition, directors as well as researchers need to become convinced that non-measurable outcomes should be pursued in their program.

It was suggested that the best approach in instrument design is to first decide "What do you plan to do in the beginning with your kids? Then select and design the evaluation instrument which will tell you how successful you were.

It was also suggested that teacher variables and their successful experiences be examined in order to see what is transferable for training new teachers.

It is not valid or realistic to evaluate every single project. We should choose some specific projects and research and evaluate them in every detail. There should be selectivity and feasibility in evaluation of programs. and clear goals and objectives for looking at the program in the first place.

The evaluation/assessment worksession also felt that studies need to be undertaken which incorporate research findings into the evaluation and assessment and the process development and application procedures. These include:

1. cognitive development;
2. affective development;
3. teacher competencies;
4. teacher/child interaction;
5. parent/child interaction; and
6. parent/teacher interaction.

VIII. SUMMARY AND FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

SUMMARY AND FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

When we initiated the workshop planning, we had very high expectations for the workshop outcomes. We have not been disappointed. The results of this workshop have indeed exceeded our expectations. First, the response to the invitation to participate was enthusiastically received and about 90 percent of those persons invited were able to attend. Secondly, while here, you have shown an exemplary level of commitment and dedication for the task at hand. This has indeed been a working group. Thirdly, you have given us more ideas, recommendations, and suggestions than we could ever implement.

OCD's research funds are not unlimited and so we must plan priorities on your priorities. We will, with the assistance of some of you, cluster your recommendations into areas and try to develop a research priority statement for 1977 addressing these areas.

We hope that you go away with a better understanding of OCD's effort on behalf of the Spanish-speaking children. We seek your participation in our research program and await your proposals.

Once again, we would like to express our sincerest appreciation for your very commendable participation.

Un gran abrazo,

Soledad Arenas

Soledas Arenas

Ramon Garcia

Ramon Garcia

APPENDIX A

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

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APPENDIX B

AGENDA

Tuesday, February 10, 1976

A.M.		
9:00	Welcome & Introduction	Ms. Soledad Arenas, Director Head Start Strategy for Spanish-Speaking Children Office of Child Development
9:10	Address	Dr. John Meier, Director Office of Child Development
9:40	Address	"Head Start Strategy for Spanish-Speaking Children" Dr. Jenny Klein, Acting Chief Program Development and Innovation Division Office of Child Development
10:00		"Research Priorities for 1976" Dr. Edith Grotberg, Director Research and Evaluation Office of Child Development
10:30		Coffee Break
10:45		"Conference Expectations" Dr. Ramon Garcia, Research Associate Office of Child Development
10:55		"State of the Art of BL/BC Early Childhood Development Dr. Amado Padilla, Associate Professor, Director of the Spanish-Speaking Mental Health Research Center University of California at Los Angeles
12:00		Lunch
P.M.		
1:30		Presentation by Dr. Early Schaefer Frank Porter Graham Child Development Center, "Socialization"
2:00		Presentation by Dr. Juana Canabal-Antokolotz Puerto Rican Family Institute, "Parent Involvement"
2:30		Coffee Break
2:45		AREA I: WORKSESSION ON SOCIALIZATION Moderator: Dr. Manuel Carlos Fellow, National Institute of Education

2:45

AREA I: WORKSESSION ON SOCIALIZATION
Moderator: Dr. Manuel Carlos
Fellow, National Institute of Education

Panel Members

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Frank Porter Graham Child Development Center

Dr. Miguel Montiel
Arizona State University

Dr. Bambi Cardenas
Intercultural Development Research Associates
San Antonio, Texas

AREA II: WORKSESSION ON PARENT INVOLVEMENT
Moderator: Mr. Richard Johnson, Director
Social Services and Parent Involvement - Office of Child Development

SECOND DAY

Wednesday, February 11, 1976

A.M.

8:30 Presentation by Dr. Robert Lado
Professor of Linguistics
Georgetown University, "Language Development"

9:00 Presentation by Dr. Manuel Ramirez
University of California at Santa Cruz, "Cognitive Development"

9:30 Presentation by Dr. Luis Laosa
University of California at Los Angeles, "Evaluation/Assessment"

10:00 Coffee Break

10:15 AREA III: WORKSESSION ON LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT
Moderator: Dr. Ramon Garcia, Research Associate, OCD

Panel Members:

Dr. Robert Lado
Georgetown University

Dr. Eugene Garcia
University of Utah

Dr. Heidi Dulay
Asian American Bilingual Center

AREA IV: WORKSESSION ON COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT
Moderator: Dr. Judith Ramirez, Education Program Specialist
Office of Child Development

Panel Members:

Dr. Manuel Ramirez
University of California at Santa Cruz

Dr. Thelma Leaffer
New York University

Dr. Milton Silva
Medical College, Milwaukee

AREA V: WORKSESSION ON EVALUATION/ASSESSMENT
Moderator: Dr. Charles Gershenson, Children's Bureau
Office of Child Development

Panel Members:

Dr. Luis Laosa
University of California at Los Angeles

Dr. Edward de Avila
Bilingual/Bicultural Children's TV
Oakland, California

Dr. Amado Padilla
University of California at Los Angeles

12:30	Lunch
2:00	Reports of Each Discussion Group
3:15	Summary and Future Implications Dr. Ramon Garcia
3:30	Closing Remarks Ms. Soledad Arenas

APPENDIX C

"STATE OF THE ART OF BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT"

Amado M. Padilla

Judy Wagner-Gough

Hortensia Amaro-Plotkin

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December 19, 1976

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I.

Introduction

The concept of bilingual education for the Spanish speaking/surnamed (SS/S)* child is rooted in a history of tangled political, social, and educational issues. In this paper we will first identify and clarify some of these issues and make suggestions for more refined research. The intent is to improve bilingual/bicultural (BL/BC) education for the 3 - 5 year old SS/S child. We will first present an historical overview of the major evolutionary trends leading to the development of BL/BC education. This is followed by a discussion of socialization practices among SS/S parents. Our central concern is with possible changes that may occur in child rearing practices and other related family dynamics as a consequence of the child's entry into school. Included in this section is a discussion of parental and community attitudes towards BL/BC education. Our objective here is to examine the relationship between attitudes towards BL/BCism and maintenance of BL/BCism. We will, next, examine current research in language acquisition and bilingualism. In this section, we will highlight the major issues in child bilingualism that preschool BL/BC education specialists should be aware of. We will provide a framework for what educators should expect in the way of language development from children enrolled in preschool BL/BC education programs. In the fifth section, we will examine preschool BL/BC programs specifically designed for the SS/S child. We will summarize their objectives, curricula, teacher training programs and their impact on children and parents. We will discuss the strategies and limitations of program evaluation procedures in their present form as well as offer suggestions for improving the state of program assessment.

All of the information gathered in the prèparation of this state-of-the-art paper has given us insight into what is known, but mostly not known, about the SS/S preschool child, his family, community, and BL/BC education.

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* By SS/S we are referring to the more than nine million residents of the United States who have been identified by the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1971a, 1971b) as people of "Spanish origin." The three largest groups of U.S. residents include more than five million Mexican Americans, approximately one and one-half million Puerto Ricans, and more than 600,000 Cubans. The remaining two million SS/S members include Central or South Americans and "other" people of Spanish origin. In all, the SS/S represent the second largest minority group in the United States. Further, in spite of geographic, historic, and in some cases racial differences between the SS/S subgroups, all share cultural and educational similarities which allow us to speak with relativc ease of the entire SS/S population.

II.

Why Preschool Bilingual/Bicultural Education?

Historical Background

For many years the educational literature has carried studies which purport to document that a number of factors contribute to the educational underachievement of SS/S children. (For a summary see Carter; 1970). Together this literature has resulted in two explanations for the academic failure of these children: deficiency and difference.

The deficiency argument of underachievement as summarized by Carter (1970) claimed that the child is deficient in language abilities, intelligence, and motivation. It further argued that something must be added to the educational process and the child's cultural orientations to make him achieve. This theory had its origin in a series of studies beginning in the thirties which stated that the lower educational achievement of SS/S children was directly related to such factors as BL/BCism and parents who were poor educational role models. More specifically, it was argued that these parents showed little concern for the academic performance and efficiency of their children (Saunders, 1954; Zintz, 1963; Manuel, 1965). Further, it was assumed that SS/S parents placed little value on education, which explained why children were not motivated to achieve in the school. As the argument became more refined, it was assumed that parents did not know how to teach their children, did not speak much to them and when they did speak to them, used simple, ungrammatical language. Therefore, children from these deprived environments it was argued, lacked stimulating models and activities which would maximize their potential for language development and intellectual growth.

What had to be added to the children's environment, educators argued, was a preschool intervention program to develop motivated, verbally intelligent children who would enter kindergarten prepared to acquire social skills on a par with their more "advantaged" classmates. This could be accomplished in the preschool years by playing verbal games with the children, singing songs, taking trips, learning the alphabet and making good teachers out of parents. More than this, programs were conducted in English because it was thought that a child would need to develop verbal skills in the medium of instruction used by the schools. Early and continued use of English would help bridge the linguistic and cultural gap between what the deprived SS/S child did not know and what the advantaged non-minority child did know when they entered kindergarten together.

For good measure a health plan and nutrition program were added to make up for other deficiencies, but as Hatch (1970) has pointed out, no one suggested adding better paying jobs for the parents of these children. Presumably the deficiencies were unrelated to socio-economic status, but were cultural in nature.

The difference argument maintains that schools reflect a middle class value system which rewards behavior only reflective of particular cultural groups (Glidewell, et. al., 1966). The SS/S children acquire a "language code" and a "value code" in the family which are not always similar to those of the school. These children are faced with the problems of dealing with inconsistencies in values and with language (Getzels, 1974). In short, the proponents of the difference argument maintained that the SS/S child enters kindergarten with his own developed rule-based culture and language which is not deficient, but merely different from that of the school. This theory evolved from the work of Labov (1969) on the use of nonstandard English by Black children and by the research conducted by sociolinguistics such as Hymes (1967), and Fishman (1965; 1972a; 1972b) on patterns of language use and values in the community. Further studies showed that not only had the schools failed to incorporate these differences in their curriculum, but that they had penalized the children for their differences. Anderson and Johnson (1968) for example, found that SS/S children did not differ from their Anglo counterparts in academic achievement motivation, but that their performance was inhibited in school. Teachers favored Anglo students over their Spanish speaking peers by calling on them more frequently and giving them more positive reinforcement (Jackson and Cosa, 1974). This behavioral pattern on the part of the teacher inhibits the classroom participation of the SS/S child thereby causing him to become less and less motivated to perform in school.

More recently Ramírez and Castañeda (1974) have added an important new cultural and psychological dimension to the difference argument. Their contention is that Mexican American children differ from Anglo children in a culturally based cognitive learning style. We can infer that other SS/S subgroup children also differ in cognitive learning style from Anglo children. Building on the earlier work of Witkin, et. al. (1962), Ramirez and Castañeda argued that SS/S children are field sensitive while Anglo children and teachers are field insensitive. This difference in learning and teaching styles conflicts, and as long as teachers remain insensitive to the different learning style of their students, the SS/S population will do poorly academically. Ramirez and Casteneda do offer some suggestions for how teachers can be trained to match the learning style of their students.

Studies have also shown that current and former evaluation instruments used by the schools penalize the SS/S child. For instance, Mercer (1972) reported how children were being tracked into slow and fast groups on the basis of screening tests developed for the majority culture and language. Mexican American children were channeled into slow groups, and once labeled slow learners, that is what they became in the classrooms. Mercer has studied this labeling process and has presented data which indicate that the majority of Mexican American children labeled "slow learners " or "retarded" assume this role for the six hours that they are in school. Out of school there is little difference in how these children (and later adults) function in society. According to Mercer, the traditional instruments used in schools to assess intellectual potential and academic achievement are Anglocentric and the only way that the Mexican American child can compete successfully on these instruments is to become highly acculturated. For a detailed review of the effect of intelligence testing on SS/S children, the reader is referred to Padilla and Ruiz (1973).

When the language differences of the SS/S child were addressed, a number of studies relating language use to classroom learning were cited. Macnamara (1967) had found that when English speaking children in Ireland were instructed in Gaelic, their overall school performance deteriorated. In a similar study, Macnamara (1966) found that when students were given math instruction in their weaker language, their math scores deteriorated. From these studies and similar research comparing language to school achievement, conclusions were drawn that instruction in a weaker language, English, may interfere with the SS/S child's ability to learn new concepts. Educators began to argue for instruction in the mother tongue (Anderson and Boyer, 1970).

Recently, a new line of discourse has begun to surface openly in educational circles. This new educational philosophy posits that schools, rather than children, should change. Following this line of reasoning, schools should adopt a BL/BC curriculum so that SS/S children may receive school instruction in their mother tongue with culturally relevant materials. In addition, schools should generate positive attitudes among SS/S children and their families towards the acquisition and development of BL/BC skills. This will be accomplished, it is argued, by hiring teachers knowledgeable in the language and values of both the SS/S subgroup culture and the non-SS/S children should be encouraged to actively participate in the educational process.

The advocates of this new philosophy of cultural pluralism in education argue that the familiar practice of forbidding SS/S children to speak Spanish in school is culturally undemocratic. Further, these advocates argue that schools should not only respect languages other than English, but should enrich their curriculum by introducing material relevant to cultural groups other than the majority. Accordingly, a culturally democratic learning environment would be a setting in which the child would acquire knowledge about his own and the dominant culture. The teaching techniques would, furthermore, be based on culturally appropriate modes of learning for the child in question. It is this new approach to BL/BC education that has given impetus to the social and political involvement of the SS/S subgroup population demonstrated in their lobbying for passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and subsequent legislation.

Present State of Bilingual/Bicultural Education

While the number of BL/BC programs is growing due to federal legislation, the topic of BL/BC education is by no means free of controversy. Part of the controversy stems from confusion over what Spolsky (1972) summarizes as educational, social, and political aims which produce seemingly contradictory results. It is true that BL/BC education has been marketed as a means to maximize the social competencies of the SS/S child -- the umbrella term for everything good. However, when reviewing the literature, it is apparent that the terms BL/BC, and certainly BL/BC education, are used to express many different things. The inconsistent use of these terms will be documented in later sections of this paper.

Jakobovits (1970) asserts that there is no particular advantage in setting arbitrary limits for the definition of bilingualism. He further asserts that emphasis should be placed on assessing the individual's knowledge and use of her/his two languages. However, there has been minimal sociolinguistic research conducted on SS/S subgroup preschool children and their families (as will be demonstrated in later chapters). For example, we have little information pertaining to the process of language development in SS/S children. Nor do we have much longitudinal data on language learning in BL/BC programs that could be used to define guidelines for a BL/BC curriculum. Because of the gaps in our information about the cultural and linguistic development of the BL/BC child, researchers such as Tarone, Swain, and Fathman (1975) have suggested educators take a more cautious approach to the implementation of BL/BC programs and wait for more definitive research results before committing themselves to a course of action. The other position, however, is to learn from the successes and shortcomings of programs that have been in operation and to incorporate these, as well as new information from researchers, into guidelines for future programs. We support the latter position for several obvious reasons. First, the impetus necessary for lobbying for BL/BC education was too long in coming to now step back and wait for the researchers' guidelines for programs. Second, whatever is attempted in BL/BC programs could not be any less successful than what has preceded under the guise of education. Finally, in setting a course for cultural democracy in education the mere use of a language other than English in the classroom, coupled with the inclusion of material about Mexico and Puerto Rico, for example, is as important as any research findings.

We have no doubt that BL/BC skills are an asset in today's shrinking world. Most countries, with the obvious exception of the United States, have long recognized this fact and have consequently supported BL/BC programs. It is interesting to observe how the belief in the value of BL/BC education gave impetus to the Culver City Project, which was created without funding by enthusiastic parents and teachers who wanted to provide instruction in both Spanish and English for non-SS/S children. Yet a similar belief by some Mexican Americans (e.g., Sanchez, 1932) was unrecognized by educators, thus causing Mexican American children to undergo more than four decades of being labeled "deficient" or "different." The obvious implication of this is that educational innovation, reform, or change requires that the advocates of such reform possess a political base from which to speak. The SS/S community has not until recently had a political base -- the necessary elected officials, political lobbyists, and voter awareness -- from which to call for education reform for their children.

It is interesting to note that while BL/BC education was originally created as a remedial program for SS/S children, it may well become the mode of education for all children. Current trends in research (see Section IV) support Leopold's (1939) notion that bilingualism may be intellectually beneficial. Recognizing both the intellectual and social value in speaking two languages, researchers and educators alike (Bowen, undated; John and Horner, 1971; Pena, 1975) have suggested that in the future, it may well be the monolingual monocultural child who is deprived.

Currently, BL/BC education has begun to receive widespread attention at all levels -- federal, state, and local. This attention coupled with some federal and state funds has given a face life to many schools with large enrollments of SS/S children being educated in BL/BC programs. Many of these programs have been identified as model programs in our study of project reports and evaluations (please refer to Section V). It is apparent that there is a great deal of hope and enthusiasm in these programs. However, Bowen cautions us that the true test for BL/BC education will be when

> . . . bilingual education is so thoroughly accepted that politicians can no longer attract headlines by publicly offering their support, having done their bit and redirected their attention to some new issue of public concern. That will be the real test of bilingual education: whether it can survive the effects of acceptance and neglect. (p. 5)

The second test will be whether policy makers and administrators at the national level will be able to separate and clarify the critical issues in preschool bilingual education.

III.

Impact of Bilingual/Bicultural Education on the Family and Community

There are a series of questions concerning the impact of preschooling on the child rearing practices of parents that must be addressed. These questions have mostly to do with the way SS/S children are socialized and how these socialization practices possibly undergo change when the child enters preschool. Equally important are questions concerning attitudes of parents toward BL/BC education. Here we are especially concerned with whether there are differences in child rearing practices between parents who actively seek to enroll their children in preschool programs and parents who do not. To provide some background to these questions we will first review some of the literature on the SS/S family and how certain family variables relate to academic achievement. From this, we will then pose a series of questions for teachers, administrators, and researchers interested in preschool BL/BC programs.

Family Patterns

Traditionally, the SS/S family structure has been described as paternalistic, authoritarian, and extended-family oriented. It is typically viewed as having clear separation (if not rigidness) of sex roles, strong loyalities, and respect for parents and older adult figures in the extended family and community, and as abiding by strict child rearing practices. Moreover, the SS/S parent has been viewed by educators as fatalistic and present-time oriented, with lower educational aspirations for their children (e.g., Saunders, 1954; Zintz, 1963; Manuel, 1965).

Mexican American social scientists have taken issue with these views of the Mexican American family and have argued that there is no basis in empirical data to support the cultural based reasons used to explain low achievement of Mexican Americans students in the public schools (Padilla, 1972; Montiel, 1973). For instance, it is not unusual to read that the Mexican American student is not competitive, ambitious, or achievement oriented because these qualities have not been rewarded during his early childhood. Presumably what have been rewarded are dependence, obedience, compliance, and silence. The child is not active, mobile, curious, or talkative. It is further assumed that because of this early childhood training, the child is forever expecting to have his dependency need fulfilled by the environment.

In addition, little concern is given to the cultural and ecological variability that exists among SS/S when attempting to describe SS/S families and their child rearing practices. The SS/S are composed of different mixtures of values and language use patterns, of different socio-economic levels, and of life styles that vary along the continuum of rural to urban and from migratory to settled (Amaro-Plotkin, 1975). There are also generational differences as well as differences in cultural awareness that must all be taken into account when studying the family.

Family Roles in Educational Achievement

The importance of the role of the family in the educational achievement of children must be underscored. There is good evidence (Rosen, 1956, 1959) of a long standing nature that parents play a significant role in instilling academic achievement motivation in their children. According to Rosen, academic achievement motivation is the result of two types of family socialization practices: achievement training and independence training. Achievement training involves the parent setting high goals for their children and communicating to them that they expect evidence of high achievement. Independence training involves the parent encouraging self-reliance by granting their children enough autonomy to make their own decisions and to accept responsibility for success or failure.

There is little research that bears on these two types of family socialization practices when considering SS/S. There are at least several studies which clearly indicate that the first type of socialization practice is to be found in Mexican American homes (Anderson and Johnson, 1971; Evans and Anderson, 1973; Henderson and Merritt, 1968). There is little research of a similar nature with other SS/S subpopulations (Padilla and Ruiz, 1973). On the basis of available research, for instance, Anderson and Johnson reject the myth that Mexican American parents discourage, or even de-emphasize, advanced education for their children. What Anderson and Johnson conclude is that

> Mexican American children on the whole experience as much pressure to achieve good grades in school, complete high school, and attend college from their parents as their contemporaries. These findings strongly contradict the stereotype of the Mexican American family as placing little emphasis on education. Furthermore, this interpretation is also borne out when one examines the factor that indicates the degree to which children report parental assistance with their school work. On the whole, there appears to be little or no difference between Mexican American children and other children with respect to this factor (p. 300).

Anderson and Johnson suggest that the problems Mexican American children have in schools may be more related to the fact that parental education and family socioeconomic status remain quite low even after three generations of residence in the United States. The authors say that one of the "most significant findings" (p. 306) to emerge is that Mexican American children have relatively less personal confidence

in their ability to achieve academically despite parental encouragement and high educational expectations. An obvious implication is that the academic performance of Mexican American children may be improved by BL/BC educational programs beginning at the preschool level which are directed towards increasing the confidence of these children.

With respect to the second socialization variable (i. e., independence training) there is some evidence which suggests that Mexican American parents are less likely to grant autonomy to their children than are Anglo American parents (Evans and Anderson, 1973). Moreover, Evans and Anderson showed that independence training served as a greater predictor variable of academic achievement for Mexican American students than for Anglo students. Evans and Anderson suggest that this finding may reflect a basic incompatibility between the Mexican American family structure and the structure of the classroom. That is, in most elementary and secondary schools, the norm of independence is reinforced by confronting children with a sequence of classroom tasks and experiences designed to encourage independent behavior on the part of the student. Accordingly, for students who have been socialized to be somewhat independent in their actions, achievement is greatly amplified in the classroom where the student is expected to assume a great deal of initiative in interacting with the teacher and other students. Finally, Evans and Anderson report data which indicates that middle class Mexican Americans provide independence training for their children in a manner similar to Anglo parents.

In the absence of large scale investigations of SS/S child rearing practices, it is essential that research be initiated into specific child rearing practices of SS/S parents and how these practices affect the social and emotional competencies of the child. These studies should be longitudinal in nature and should control for length of residence of parents in the United States, family and kinship ties to Mexico, social class, rural versus urban backgrounds, and educational level of parents. Coupled with these studies should be research studies which will determine how schooling of children alters child rearing practices and family relationships. That is, the research should focus on these processes before, during, and after exposure to BL/BC schooling. The research should include children and parents not exposed to BL/BC education. No information is known about the impact of schooling on socialization practices in the SS/S family. For example, it is not known whether the process of acculturation (e. g., shift in the preference of Spanish to English) which occurs when children enter school serves to alter the child-parent parent-parent, and child-child interactions in the home, thereby, creating some degree of acculturation in the entire family. Padilla and Lindholm (in press) for instance, in a study of child bilingualism gathered some data which indicate that in homes where Spanish is the primary mode of communication of the parents, school aged children prefer English when addressing younger siblings and they become the language models for their monolingual Spanish-speaking younger siblings. However, no one has investigated this process systematically.

In line with this same discussion is the need to study the expectations that SS/S parents have toward the school in the socialization of their children. For instance, Steward and Steward (1973; 1974) in informal data collected about the mothers perceptions of themselves as teachers report that Mexican American mothers perceived their roles as mothers, not teachers, and that teachers were to be found in the school. Further, Steward and Steward report that Mexican mothers were more concerned about their child's behavior in school than Chinese or Anglo mothers who were more preoccupied with what their children learned. Thus, we need to initiate research that examines the role parents expect themselves and their children to assume toward teachers and schooling. It seems essential that the expectations of parents and teachers mesh with each other if the child is to succeed in the school. In the absence of formal empirical evidence, there is some indication that parents and teachers have different, and possibly incompatible, role expectations which conflict and interfere with the academic success of children (Getzels, 1974). These data seem particularly important to us in the planning of preschool programs which will meet the bilingual and bicultural needs of SS/S children.

Family and Community Attitudes Toward Bilingual/Bicultural Education

As important as the socialization practices of SS/S parents is the attitude that parents have toward the BL/BC education of their children. The logic of this obviously is that if parents view BL/BC education positively then this attitude will be communicated to their children, who in turn will adopt a similar attitudinal disposition. There is some basis for belief that if BL/BC educational program personnel encourage parental involvement in the planning and teaching activities of the programs then parents and children alike come to view these programs positively. (This point is more fully discussed in the section on language differences in section four).

Attitude measurements obtained in the St. Lambert project (Lambert and Tucker, 1972) indicate a more liberal, acceptant outlook among the experimental children toward both English and French. Moreover, the experimental subjects presistently described themselves in positive self concept terms at all grade levels. Parents of the experimental children expressed enthusiasm and a strong preference for continuing the experiment and providing a regular home-school language switch opportunity for successive groups of children. Likewise, the teachers were in strong agreement with the goals of the French/English program.

In a study by Riestra and Johnson (1964) there was a positive change in attitudes after students had been involved in studying Spanish. The interesting finding in this study pertained to the influence that television and audio-tapes had on the increase in positive attitudes. It would appear that multi-media could be used as a very effective tool in the creation of sensitivity and understanding of other cultures.

In Cohen's (in press) description of the Redwood City bilingual program for MA children there were definite attitude changes among the children involved in the project. The children viewed their own culture more positively, and their school attendance and attitudes toward school were both greatly improved.

Cohen also surveyed the parents of the children and found that the parents were very positive in their feelings toward the BL/BC program. They stressed their desires for Spanish instruction in order to preserve their language and their culture. They also felt that if their children were bilingual, it would be easier for them to obtain jobs and those jobs would be of a more professional nature. Spanish language maintenance was also believed to influence the thought and behaviors of their children who would consequently remain true Mexican Americans.

Frasure-Smith, Lambert, and Taylor (1975) looked at parental attitudes toward bilingualism and found that Canadian parents valued the learning experience for their children because they felt it increased the occupational and educational avenues that would be available for their children. The study also pointed to the intricacies of learning a second language which involves more than the development of a linguistic skill, but instead, encompasses a complex social commitment. There is a great need according to the authors for the development of a more comprehensive social-psychological model to look at attitudes toward BL/BC education.

Attitudes of SS/S parents whose children are enrolled in the Santa Barbara BL/BC program seem to bear out many of the studies reviewed above. In discussions with a group of the parents the same attitudes noted by Cohen and Lambert and his associates were expressed by the parents. These parents were enthusiastic about the project and felt that they were contributing to their child's intellectual growth and development as well as receiving educational opportunities themselves.

On the basis of the above review of parental attitudes toward BL/BC education, there is a need for the continued study of parental attitudes and expectations prior to, during, and following their children's exposure to BL/BC schooling. In our estimation, not enough is yet known of how attitudes interact with parental expectations of BL/BC schooling or how parental attitudes can be made more favorable by program personnel. Further, we need to assess parents for their attitudes of what constitutes the critical aspects of culture that they would like strengthened in the bicultural component of programs and that these cultural aspects be incorporated into the curriculum. As we will discuss in a later section of this paper, the bicultural component is in need of much greater specification and it would be of extreme importance to know how parents viewed biculturality and what they thought had to be communicated to children in order to preserve the culture of the home.

Along this same line, it seems to us important to know how the community perceives BL/BC education. Since most of the preschool BL/BC programs other than Head Start have only recently arrived on the educational scene, it is difficult to determine what the community attitudes are towards these programs. It is possible, however, to look at research on Head Start programs and to infer what impact these programs may have on the parents and community.

Certainly one of the greatest contributions of Head Start has been to increase parental involvement by including parents as aides, teachers, advisory members, and program directors. With this involvement, parents have come to realize that they can influence and affect those educational institutions which directly shape their children's social competence, intellectual development, and occupational future. Accordingly, there is a need for research to be directed at determining the range of community attitudes and expectations toward bilingual/bicultural education as well as increasing the community's role in setting educational policy. Further, attitudes need to be surveyed on a continuous basis, especially in those communities where there is upward mobility and in-migration. Special care should be taken to assess language patterns in the home and community at large as well as determine whether families are recent arrivals in the United States. The long range impact of these programs should also be assessed for their effectiveness on the academic and social success of SS/S children in public schools. Further, the leadership role that parents play in school related affairs should be included in this research.

Finally, there is no available information which relates directly to the effects that attitudes of peers and siblings have on the 3 - 5 year old child involved in a preschool BL/BC program. There is research that indicates that preschool children depend more on their parents and siblings as role models and that this becomes weaker with entry into school, while a value on peer opinion becomes increasingly stronger. The extent to which this same pattern developed in SS/S children is not known. We can speculate that the influence of the family may be greater than that of peers for a longer period of time because of this stronger family effect. On the basis of this we can further speculate that familial ties are more important variables shaping the attitudes of children toward BL/BCism, especially with children from 3 to 5 years of age. What is needed, however, is confirmatory data which bears on the importance of parents and siblings as role models in the language and cultural development of young children.

In sum, patterns of parent-child and child-child interactions in SS/S families are in need of study, especially on how these patterns change with school contact. This research needs to be conducted on attitudes toward BL/BCism and BL/BC education for children, their siblings and parents, peers, and the community at large. Only when such studies are conducted will we be able to specify the conditions that facilitate BL/BC development. Furthermore, such studies would provide information on the total social and emotional development of children.

IV.

Language Development in the Bilingual Child

Researchers have debated at length the issue of what constitutes bilingualism. We are not concerned with the issue of defining bilingualism per se in this paper, but rather with recognizing the development of BL potential in SS/S preschool children. By BL potential, we mean the potential for developing skills in two languages. We may identify this potential in the child who speaks only Spanish, yet enters a BL/BC preschool. BL potential may likewise describe the SS/S child who speaks Spanish at home and English in school. Similarly, a child who speaks predominantly English, but understands some Spanish, also has BL potential. In sum, a child has BL potential if she/he is within an environment where there is an opportunity to develop productive or receptive skills in two languages. In this section we will explore the language development of children with BL potential, paying particular attention to generalizable similarities and differences in the process of acquiring BL skills and highlighting needs for further research in BLism that has application to BL education. We will further examine the relationship between BLism and BCism.

Similarities in Language Learning

We know from experimental and observational studies that children can and do learn languages under a variety of conditions. We also know that language acquisition proceeds in a similar manner for learners, whether they are acquiring skills in two languages simultaneously or sequentially. We know that the linguistic process is rule-governed, so that at any particular stage in the child's development, we should be able to roughly describe the rules the child uses to organize his speech.

These statements are supported by evidence from researchers who have looked at bilingual development. Hatch (1974), for example, studies the language development of over 40 children acquiring English as one of their two languages. These children were at various stages in their acquisition of BL skills, and represented a wide range of language backgrounds and cultures. Some were Japanese-American, some were SS/S and others were Chinese-American. What is most intriguing is that all of these children developed English language skills in a similar manner, that is, similar developmental sequences occurred in their acquisition of English regardless of the child's language preference or language background. Data collected by Padilla and Liebman (1975) and Padilla and Lindholm (in press) on the simultaneous development of Spanish and English among preschool Mexican American children generally concur with Hatch's findings where comparisons can be made.

Padilla and his associates extend the similarities argument by suggesting that children with BL potential learn to differentiate between their two language system at a very early age. Children acquire rules of vocabulary items in their two languages almost simultaneously when they mix languages, word order is preserved while forms

do not overlap in meaning. They also found that children usually start to favor one language over the other, and suggest that this preference may reflect language input variables. In general, the Padilla and Liebman and the Padilla and Lindholm studies demonstrate that the acquisition of BLism proceeds in much the same manner as the acquisition of a single language. Their conclusions draw support from similar findings by Swain (1972) and Fantini (1974), Leopold (1939; 1947; 1949a; 1949b), Ronjat (1913), and Fantini (1974), all of whom have conducted longitudinal studies on bilingual children.

Further evidence of similarities among learners comes from experimental studies conducted by Larson-Freeman (1975), Fathman (1975), and Dulay and Burt (1974). These researchers ranked the order of acquisition of grammatical markers in the speech of second language learners coming from a variety of language backgrounds. Similar developmental orders across all learners for many grammatical markers were found. If language learning proceeds in a similar developmental pattern, we need to know what this general sequence looks like for the SS/S child between the ages of 3 and 5.

While we know that similarities exist in language learning, we do not know the specifics of Spanish-English BLism in children from 3 to 5 years old. As of yet, no longitudinal studies have been conducted with this age group, although dissertation research by Linda Tweed (personal communication) appears promising for the future. The need for long-term observational studies can not be overemphasized, as research findings should provide guidelines for the development of a BL/BC curriculum as well as realistic long and short term goals for BL/BC education in general.

Researchers have attempted to explain why there are notable similarities - differences in language development by analyzing various linguistic, semantic, cognitive, and affective variables. They have analyzed the effects of input to the learner--that is, the language addressed to him in conversation. They have analyzed the relationship between language form and language function in the developmental process. They have considered individual differences in learning style, and finally, they have examined the importance of affective variables in language learning. We will report the major findings in all of these areas as they contribute to our overall understanding of the language learning process. When appropriate, we will make recommendations for further research.

Language Input Variables

Hatch (1974) found that she could account for the child's acquisition of some language patterns on the basis of the frequency with which the pattern occurred in the language input to the child. Wagner-Gough (1975), Larson-Freeman (1975), and Boyd (1975) also suggest that language input to the child is important to consider when trying to explain language rule formation. Padilla and Liebman (1975) further noted the significance of language input and its relationship to language selection in the SS/S BL/BC children they studied. They found for example, that they were able to increase

the amount of Spanish used (relative to English) in the children's speech samples simply by having the child's mother speak only Spanish to her/him one hour prior to the recording session. Well-documented research by Hymes (1967), and Fishman (1965) show how the practice of language switching and mixing is a response to language input from the community.

Boyd (1975) has analyzed the effects of language input in classroom speech. In her study of the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program (Los Angeles, California) for English-speaking children, Boyd found that the teacher's language was characterized by present tense verbs, commands, routine expressions and repetition of the materials being taught. The students likewise, used many present tense and command forms in their speech. The teacher used relatively few past tense forms, and produced almost no utterances in the future, past perfect, or subjunctive forms. Boyd found that the infrequent use of these forms in the teacher's language resulted in the absence of many of these same forms in the learner's speech.

Boyd concluded that classroom language alone may not be sufficient to provide varied conditions for the acquisition of native-like BL/BC skills. (For supporting evidence, see Lambert 1972.) These findings are particularly relevant to BL children whose primary model for one of their languages is the classroom teacher. While we have discussed similarities in strategy and language product, we need to know how BL/BC programs may hinder or facilitate language growth in the development of BL skills, especially when it is the case that the teacher is the primary model for one of the languages. We need to know whether the language environment of the classroom can be manipulated in any way to facilitate language learning. We need information on classroom language and its effects on the language development of preschool children in BL/BC programs.

Discourse in Language Learning

The logical extension of an input-output analysis pertains to the discourse between the SS/S child and his mother, his teacher and his peers. The field of discourse analysis is wide open for research. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) have asserted that the basic unit of interaction is not the single utterance, but rather the exchange. The child learns from her/his conversations with their mother, teacher or peers when to remain silent, when to initiate conversations and when to switch language codes. Furthermore, s/he learns how to draw inferences what topic to address in the speech of others, how to summarize and how to present her/his own ideas. Some of our knowledge about communication patterns have particular relevance to BL/BC education. For example, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Pearce (1973) and Coulthard and Ashby (forthcoming) have made the interesting observation that discourse progresses mainly by question-answer sequences in the classroom. However, other researchers

(Sacks, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jackson - 1974) demonstrate that this is not what actually happens in ordinary conversation. These findings lend support to claims that classroom language may provide the child with limited language experiences if the teacher does not use varied language patterns in her/his speech. Once again, BLism and language use in the classroom needs further research.

Where researchers have looked at the discourse between children and adults, they have found that adults use a number of various teaching strategies. Some of these strategies appear in the form of routine questions and language patterns. As Keenan (personal communication) has suggested, the child is often guided through the communication process by the adult who helps the child develop her/his thoughts. Hatch and Wagner-Gough (1975) have found that the adult's speech to the child may form its own developmental sequence as the adult consciously or unconsciously filters her/his speech to the child. In addition, adult-child conversations usually refer to environmental stimuli that can be seen or manipulated by the young child. We need to continue the research in the field of discourse strategies, especially as it pertains to adult-child conversations in a natural environment. The knowledge of these strategies may be of value to the teacher in a BL/BC preschool program. (See Section III on socialization and attitudes). In addition, we must analyze conversations between peers to determine the nature of child-child discourse and to find the various strategies children may use to teach and learn from one another. (Refer to Section III).

Semantic Concepts in the Art of Discourse

Besides examining teaching-learning strategies in a discourse analysis we must also examine how language structures function in the child's speech. For example, Hatch and Wagner-Gough (1975) found that language learners may acquire and use (a progressive marker) early, although they do not learn the full function of this form until much later in their language development. The reason for this may be that the younger learner only understands limited semantic relationships. It may also be due to the fact that this form does have several semantic functions in adult speech which may be too subtle for the young learner to perceive. We need to explore in much greater detail the relationship between language function and language form: which functions appear first for certain forms and which are acquired later? In addition, we need to analyze linguistic and semantic complexity for the SS/S preschool child to determine which tasks will generally be semantically easier or more difficult for her/him to perform. This study should be longitudinal. Ultimately, such findings should be applied to a BL/BC curriculum.

Language - Processing Strategies

How does a child sift through language data and select those forms that are linguistically easy and most useful to him in speech? It has been suggested that the learner uses a set of cognitive and perceptual strategies to attend to certain features

features of linguistic and semantic markers. Hatch (1974) in second language research and Slobin (1973) in first language research have outlined some of the ways these strategies operate. In brief they are:

1. Perceptual saliency of a form -- forms which are easiest to perceive in the stream of speech because they receive stress, come at the end of words or have salient phonological properties will be learned first.

2. Number of forms -- the learner will begin with one form and use it to mark one function. Then she/he will add others in correct ways (generalization), will overgeneralize, and then use the forms in variation. Finally, s/he will sort out the correct use of each of the forms.

3. Number of functions -- if a form has only one function, it should be easy to learn; if it has many and if forms overlap in function, it will be more difficult.

4. Importance to communication -- if a form is not crucial for communication it will not appear in the initial stages of acquisition.

5. Any combination of the variables 1 through 4 will make the task more or less easy.

While it is true that not all children use all of these strategies all of the time, these operating principles are useful in explaining why some forms emerge early and why some appear late. However, at this stage of language research we are not able to predict which forms will usually appear first or why. This is largely due to our lack of information about the relationship between cognitive strategies and language growth. We need to continue researching the relationship between linguistic and cognitive processing strategies and in the language development of the preschool SS/S child.

Applied Research in Bilingual/Bicultural Education

At this point any teacher may well be protesting "How should I relate all of this information to a BL/BC preschool program?" Her/his question is important. We can not make many definitive statements without further research, but we can offer some suggestions for using some of the research findings that we have in a BL/BC program.

For example, a preschool teacher will want to include a variety of language activities in the class that will provide occasion for her/him and the students to use varied speech patterns. S/he may want to increase the frequency of past tense forms by telling stories to the children in the past tense, or s/he may try to incorporate less question-answer sequences into her teaching to encourage more student initiated

speech in the class. S/he may also want to take the children on field trips where they may experience more language forms and language models.

By becoming acquainted with the general developmental language sequences and language learning strategies, the teacher will at least be aware of what to anticipate in the language development of the child. The teacher will, for example, anticipate questions with rising intonation prior to questions with subject-verb inversions. S/he will anticipate what/que and where/donde questions before why/porque and how/como questions. (Refer to Padilla and Lindholm - in press). In addition, s/he will want to attend to the function of these forms in the child's speech. The teacher will understand that children usually require time to sort out the pronoun system of each language as well as the forms of to be and estar/ser. In sum, s/he will have a better understanding of the manner in which language is learned. With this awareness the teacher should be able to develop and evaluate materials which are compatible with the child's level of language proficiency.

While the language learner seems to attend to and acquire certain linguistic patterns before others in her/his speech, this does not necessarily mean that the teacher should try to simplify her/his speech in order to match it with the learner's own production. Maybe it is important for the learner to be exposed to some of the potential of language while simultaneously being given the chance to listen, ignore, test rules, sort through data, delete, learn, overgeneralize, and relearn language forms. This it seems, is certainly one major advantage of preschool BL/BC programs. They can serve as testing grounds for the learner's speech.

Teachers, however, should not make the mistake of judging what a learner knows solely on the basis of her/his own speech production. Studies have shown that it is important to know about the child's comprehension of language in the assessment of her/his language abilities. Clearly, we need to inform the educators in preschool BL/BC programs of the important gains made in language research and of the possible ways language research can be applied to BL/BC education.

Differences in Language Learning

Although we have discussed the similarities between children in their language development it is equally important that we attend to the differences in this development. The teacher in the BL/BC classroom will also need to be aware of these differences in order to be more sensitive to the speech patterns and learning strategies of her individual students. For example, there is a noticeable difference in children's language learning styles. They form language rules and consistently apply them when organizing their production data. At any point in their development, it is relatively easy for the researcher to describe these rules. Hatch calls such learners rules formers.

There are children, however, who are more eclectic in their approach to language learning. They seem to sweep everything they hear into their speech with no apparent order and sort the rules out later. They defy researchers' attempts to describe their own rules in any terms other than "free variation." These learners are referred to by Hatch as data gatherers.

While their strategies radically differ, both data gatherers and rule formers do learn the rules of language. It may be that the data gatherer is prone to try out new forms verbally in order to hear them and to establish semantic parameters for their use in his speech. It is also possible that many patterns the learner uses in free variation serve as fillers until s/he learns the appropriate linguistic form for the concept. There are other explanations that could be offered. It is quite possible, too, that language learning style is just another way we have of talking about cognitive style.

Krashen (personal communication) claims that learning strategies may change with age. He has suggested that children acquire language by trying to match their speech with the language in their environment and learn best when allowed to use their own individual cognitive devices and strategies in a new language environment. Past the age of puberty, Krashen suggests, language is objectified. Therefore, the older learner relies more heavily on formal rules to organize her/his language. Thus, we may infer that attempts to teach the young child a language will not be met with much success. We need to determine if language teaching produces any significant effects on the language learning process. To date the relationship between language teaching and language learning has not been adequately researched.

Besides differences in learning strategies, there exists differences in the rate to which children learn languages. Children vary tremendously in the rate they acquire language. Therefore, it is impossible to talk about what a BL/BC child should know by the age of five in either Spanish or English. Norm setting is made even more difficult by the fact that we have no longitudinal studies on the SS/S preschool child. However, we do have sufficient data (Brown, 1973; Hatch, 1970) on English-speaking children which show that by the age of 4 or 5, the monolingual child has not mastered many of the complex structures of the English language and is unable to make some of the finer discriminations between language patterns. This research bears directly on BL/BC education for the SS/S child. We can infer from the research on monolingual children that SS/S children with BL/BC potential will have accumulated an impressive amount of language skills by the end of their BL/BC preschooling. However, they still will not have mastered either of their two languages. If we strongly believe in the value and importance of BL/BCism, we need to establish greater continuity between BL/BC preschool programs and elementary schools.

One additional topic relevant to our discussion of language learning is that of affective variables. Schumann (in press) has suggested that these may plan a greater role in determining overall success in language development than variables associated with language aptitude. For example, the learner's attitude towards speakers of the target language can either enhance or inhibit language development. These attitudes

are shaped and modified by the disposition of her/his parents, siblings, and peers towards the target language. (See Section III). The learner's attitudes may also be influenced by the teacher's attitudes towards both the learner and the target language. (See Section II). Thus, an analysis of the learner's attitudes toward the target language and her/his motivation for learning that language may be crucial to our understanding of the complexities of language development. This research should include a control where SS/S children and parents are not in contact with non-SS/S children and parents.

Gardner and Lambert (1972) have suggested that we can expect to find differences in learning proficiency among learners based on their motivation to learn the language. They assert that proficiency in a second language is dependent on the learner's desire to become a member of that ethnolinguistic group. It is an integrative motivation (desire to learn more about the culture) rather than an instrumental motivation (desire to learn the language for practical reasons) that results in better success in acquiring BL/BC skills. If this is true, we must find out whether children and parents in BL/BC preschools develop integrative motivation. We also need to know whether preschool personnel encourage both BL and BC integrative motivation. Studies should be conducted to compare the attitude and motivation of the preschool child who enters a monolingual (English-speaking) elementary school and the child who attends a BL/BC elementary school. A further question might be whether attitudes and motivation change in the SS/S child and parents by increased contact with either monolingual Spanish or English children and adults.

This research should be conducted with populations that are composed of both SS/S and non-SS/S children and parents. Research on attitudes and motivation in BL is important because of the conflicting argument presented by Macnamara (1973) who states that the importance of integrative motivation for language learning may be overemphasized in the literature.

We have made the claim that language is learned in much the same manner by all children. We have suggested that frequency of a form, combined with its semantic function, its saliency, and linguistic complexity are important determinants of acquisition. A form that is relatively easy to produce will be learned faster than one which is more difficult. A form whose semantic function is clear to the child will be learned faster than the form whose meaning is ambiguous. All of these linguistic and semantic features are subject to the personality of the learner and her/his learning style, be s/he a data gatherer or a rule former, a verbal learner or a silent learner. They are further modified by environmental factors which shape attitudes and motivation for learning any language.

There are two additional points especially relevant to the SS/S child. As Lambert (1968) asserts, if two languages are available in the home, it would be unfortunate not to capitalize on the possibility that both languages can be stabilized early, that is, the young child can comfortably learn both languages in childhood. While Ervin-Tripp

(1968) agrees with Lambert, she adds that part of the issue of bilingualism is how much societal maintenance there will be for the two languages. We believe that not all children learn two languages easily. The reasons for this, we believe, relate more directly to affective variables -- social support or non-support, peer attitudes, teacher attitudes, community attitudes, parental attitudes, and motivation -- than to any inherent difficulty in learning the linguistic and conversational rules of two language system. Since educational institutions are dynamic socializing forces, it is important that BL/BC programs be developed within communities which want to maintain bilingual skills. In accordance with this, BL/BC communities must have access to information about bilingualism, how it develops and how it is maintained. Information presented through the media may lead to wiser decisions in regards to BL/BC education. Awareness of what BLism is, how it develops, and what it can do for a child may spur communities to request BL/BC programs for their schools and to support those which have been developed.

Bilingualism and Personality Formation

Little is known about the social-emotional adjustment of BL/BC people. The popular consensus about the effects of early BLism on personality integration and emotional adjustment is that the BL experience is detrimental The literature suggests that the young BL does not function well as an older child or adult, and that s/he is especially subject to failures in conflict resolution characterized by a symptomatology for what is loosely called "alienation" or "anomie," but as Diebold (1968) has pointed out when this literature is examined one common etiological theme emerges:

> This is basically a crisis in social and personal identity engendered by antagonistic acculturative pressures directed on a bicultural community by a sociologically dominant monolingual society within which the bicultural community is stigmatized as socially inferior, and to which its bilingualism (historically viewed) is itself an assimilative response. (p. 239).

There is much that would justify the claim that the etiological theme described by Diebold is especially appropriate for the SS/S in the United States (see Padilla and Ruiz, 1973).

We have in other sections of this paper discussed the lack of a clear definition of what constitutes BCism and the development of BC skills. We have also indicated the near absence of BL/BC educational objectives and curriculum materials for enhancing BCism in preschool aged children. All of this, coupled with a lack of clear research findings on the personality formation of BL/BC preschool children, suggests to us that researchers and educators alike must devote more of their attention to the BC component in the preschool program if we are to ensure the social-emotional competency of SS/S children enrolled in BL/BC educational programs.

Bilingualism and Cognitive Development

There has been almost no research into the development of correlated language-based cognitive behavior such as concept formation with preschool BL children. What literature is available suggests that cognitive development may be facilitated in BL children. For instance, in a study by Feldman and Shen (1971) a group of Spanish surnamed Head Start children were tested on a series of Piagetian cognitive tasks. One half of the children were BL and the other half were monolingual English-speaking. The tasks involved object constancy (the ability to recognize an object after its shape has been altered partially), naming (assigning nonsense labels "wug" to the object "cup" and observing the child's facility is using both the proper label as well as the nonsense label), and ability to construct sentences incorporating the names of three objects. The finding reported by Feldman and Shen indicate that the BL children were superior to the monolinguals on all three tasks. Of even greater relevance perhaps is the fact that the BL children outperformed the monolinguals on cognitive tasks which involved both language comprehension and production. Similar findings were also reported by Ianaco-Worrall (1972) who studied Afrikaans/English speaking preschool children.

Although there is a glaring omission of research on the relationship between BLism and higher cognitive behavior, there is the suggestion that when we consider individual BLs or groups of BLs in sociolinguistic contexts where their BL behavior (and/or BC background) does not ascribe them lower status or cultural marginality within a larger monolingual community, they outperform their monolingual peers. In one of the best controlled studies in the literature, Peal and Lambert (1962) found in their contrastive comparison of carefully matched monolingual and BL groups that BLism is associated with and may in fact facilitate significantly superior performances on both verbal and nonverbal intelligence tests. Peal and Lambert conclude that:

> The picture that emerges of the French-English bilingual in Montreal is that of a youngster whose wider experiences in two cultures have given him advantages which a monolingual does not enjoy. Intellectually, his experience with two language systems seems to have left him with a mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, and a more diversified set of mental abilities, in the sense that the patterns of abilities developed by bilinguals were more heterogenous . . . . . In contract, the monolingual appears to have a more unitary structure of intelligence which he must use for all types of intellectual tasks.

V.

Preschool Education for the Bilingual

In order to gather information concerning the specific nature of preschool BL/BC education in the United States, we analyzed project reports and summaries from programs throughout the nation. (The interested reader is invited to refer to Appendix A where these reports are summarized in table form.) In conjunction with our research efforts we met with local preschool project coordinators, teachers, and program consultants and observed BL/BC preschool programs in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara. What we found were schools with conscientious dedicated personnel, SS/S parents who spoke favorably about the programs and children who seemed happy in their BL/BC preschool classes. Bilingual/bicultural program personnel should be commended for their efforts and their contributions to the SS/S community.

We also discovered through our research that BL/BC education in practice means many different things. While the objectives for most programs may be similarly stated, there is a notable disparity between these objectives and the means by which program personnel set out to achieve them. Programs differ in their treatment of the language and cultural component of BL/BC education, in their services to SS/S parents, in their curriculum design, training programs, and evaluation procedures.

Program Objectives

Bilingual education, we found, ranges in practice from fifteen minutes of Spanish per day to balanced instruction in both Spanish and English (please refer to Appendix A). There are such a variety of extremes and in-betweens that it is impossible to summarize all of the possible combinations. Because of such wide-ranging inconsistencies in the treatment of the language component in BL/BC preschool programs, we believe that the term "bilingual education" is one that is little understood. Support of this claim is to be found in the notable absence of a definition of bilingualism and bilingual education in the programs we analyzed. This lack of a clear statement of purpose on the part of program personnel has led to irregularity in program design and program evaluation procedures.

Another important aspect of these programs that appears to be little understood concerns the cultural component. By and large most of the programs studied do not have a clear conceptualization of what direction the cultural training should take. Is singing songs in two languages reinforcing biculturality in the children? Or should culture be defined by the introduction of history and the observance of holidays and other special events? More important perhaps, is the question of defining culture in terms of value systems and asking whether preschool children can be taught values. Ultimately, educators will have to better specify the bicultural component of their programs.

The amount and nature of parental involvement in BL/BC preschool programs also varies along a continuum. In some programs parents participate in the design and implementation of a curriculum. In some programs, parents are required to attend classes with their children so that they may learn strategies for teaching the youngsters. In other programs, parents are invited to participate on a daily basis but regular participation is not mandatory.

From this analysis of program reports and first hand observation of programs, one overriding question emerges: What is BL/BC preschool education for? Is it to instruct parents in techniques for verbally and cognitively stimulating their children? Is it to prepare the child in the social and linguistic skills necessary for entering elementary school? Is it to create cultural awareness and pride among children and their parents? Is it to help the child truly develop and maintain both languages? The objectives for all of the program studies suggest that BL/BC preschool education encompasses all of these goals in varying degrees, but no one has yet attempted to determine whether or not this set of objectives is the same for parents, teachers, and the community. Until we arrive at an explicit set of program objectives, we will continue to drift with BL/BC education along an uncharted course. However, whose responsibility is it to articulate these program objectives?

Because of the tremendous variation between SS/S communities, the personnel within each BL/BC preschool should have the responsibility of designing objectives suited to their own programs. These objectives should be based on the specific needs of the SS/S community, parents, and children served by the BL/BC preschool. In the design of these explicit program objectives preschool personnel should be assisted by a regional team of experts, who collectively have expertise in the areas of BL/BC curriculum development. This team of experts would assist in the design of an explicit set of objectives specifically tailored to the needs of each preschool program. In addition, this team of regional experts would serve as consultants on a continuous basis to the BL/BC preschool program assigned to their region and would assist with all facets of these programs.

Training Programs

Teachers and program directors are likely to have a fundamental effect on the success or failure of a BL/BC preschool. To the extent possible teacher selection should give priority to the training and employment of teachers from the SS/S community. Training programs should be designed to sensitize all SS/S and non-SS/S preschool personnel to the cultural values and language use patterns in the community served by their preschool. This may be accomplished by using techniques such as those proposed by Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) for sensitizing teachers to their students. Another technique especially for non-SS/S personnel would be to place teachers and program directors with families in the community served by the preschool. This method has been successfully used by the University of Massachusetts in its teacher

training program (Scott, 1974). Training programs must also be designed to familiarize teachers and program personnel with educational theory, research methodology, and curriculum design. Just as important, program personnel should be given instruction in specific teaching techniques to use with SS/S preschool children.

The application of research findings to the classroom through effective teaching techniques is a prime area for research. We need to know more about what can and can not be taught at the preschool level and what techniques are effective for teaching SS/S parents and children.

At present most preschools are provided with inservice training programs (refer to Appendix A). Such training programs are valuable since they maximize the possibility of tailoring the training to specific preschool programs. We support and encourage the continuation on inservice training programs. In addition, we recommend that inservice training programs be one of the services provided by the regional team of experts. In this manner inservice training programs be controlled for quality. More importantly, they will become part of the coordinated effort to provide assistance to preschools in all aspects of their programs.

Teacher Credentials

For many SS/S children and parents their first contact with the educational system will be within a BL/BC preschool program. This initial contact will most likely shape the attitudes and expectations of these parents and children toward subsequent educational programs. Because of the important role accorded the teacher in a BL/BC preschool, it is necessary that s/he be credentialed. Accordingly, there should be several options available to the teacher who needs to obtain credentials. Credentials should be awarded to those teachers who have successfully completed an approved BL/BC preschool training program at a university or college. Credentials should also be awarded to those BL/BC preschool teachers who have demonstrated the necessary competencies within the preschool setting as judged by qualified inservice training personnel.

Evaluation

Why evaluate? Evaluations serve to guide funding agencies and program personnel in their decisions regarding program objectives and the design of a curriculum to implement those objectives. Evaluations also help to ensure that participants in BL/BC preschool programs are receiving quality instruction. John and Horner (1971) have described program evaluation in the following manner:

> In all educational programs, testing has two purposes: individual pupil assessment and overall program evaluation. Of necessity these two objectives coincide. In order to determine whether specific educational practices have effected changes in group

> performance, it is necessary to ascertain what modifications in individual performance have occurred. Assessment models used in evaluating educational programs include experimental and control groups, student pre- and post-intervention performance and comparison of records in an entire school during an innovative approach with similar student records of a previous year. Effective evaluation procedures require the selection of a population to evaluate the articulation of a specific set of measurable objectives and the choice of techniques to be used in the assessment of these program objectives. (p. 142)

In this section we will provide the reader with an overview of the types of evaluation conducted in BL/BC preschool programs. During this discussion the reader will be referred to Appendix A where various program evaluaton procedures are summarized in table form.

The most systematic evaluation efforts among preschool programs have been carried out by means of compliance measures, using performance standards established by OCD in 1975. This reporting device consists of a series of questions asking whether or not preschool programs include activities in their curriculum relating to the total development of the preschool child and his parent. In the areas of language and culture, for example, programs are asked if they have a written plan for BL/BC education, or if parents and community members are involved in the classroom. Questions are asked in a similar manner about programs within the school but pertain to health, nutrition, children, parents, and the community.

While a compliance report may serve to monitor programs in a limited fashion, it is not an instrument designed for either individual pupil assessment or overall program evaluation. Therefore, it cannot provide us with information on the effect specific educational practices have had on the performance (or behavior) of preschool participants. Furthermore, it does not permit us to compare programs in order to determine which are more or less effective. In sum, a compliance measure is not a substitute for an effective evaluation program.

Many preschool program personnel have included some form of evaluation in their curriculum (refer to Appendix A). By and large these evaluation efforts have only been directed toward the assessment of student performance. Evaluation techniques have included informal observations, questionnaires, pre- and posttesting with criterion reference instruments, and the administration of standardized tests. The change in performance, as measured by these evaluation instruments and techniques, are discussed in the annual program reports submitted to funding agencies.

Despite the availability of program reports, we know very little about the effects of BL/BC preschooling on the child and his parents. Our knowledge is limited by the lack of evaluative research in preschool programs conducted in accordance with educational research methodology. This lack of scientifically based research methodology

is reflected at all levels of program evaluation procedures. We have already discussed the fact that most preschool programs do not have a curriculum based on a set of clearly articulated measurable objectives (refer to Appendix A). A program objective such as "to develop bilingual/bicultural skills," for example, is not an objective that can be measured without an operational definition of what constitutes bilingualism and biculturalism. However, this objective is not atypical of the objectives for BL/BC preschool programs. The majority of preschool personnel do not articulate operational objectives in their goals for SS/S parents and children in their programs.

Once the program objectives have been defined, instruments may be developed or selected to assess the specific components of the desired behavior. In the case of preschool BL/BC programs, the problems of conducting meaningful evaluative studies are compounded by the lack of adequate assessment instruments for SS/S children and parents. For example, while there are a number of instruments that purport to measure language performance in preschool children, there are few cultural measures.

While we were able to find descriptions of a few cultural instruments and many more language evaluation instruments, we found it difficult to locate critical reviews of these instruments. The most thorough critical reviews we did locate were in a manuscript prepared by consultants for the Bilingual Education Unit in Albany (see Multilingual Assessment Program, 1975). However, this manuscript does not include critical evaluations of all instruments currently used with preschool children.

Because testing provides just one more avenue for labeling or mislabeling a child at an early age, the need for readily available critical reviews of all tests and instruments is unquestionable. The need becomes more apparent when discussing some of the evaluation instruments themselves. There are problems in the design of these measures that apply to all preschool children. In the area of language assessment, for instance, there are two types of instruments used at the preschool level. One type, the Carrow Auditory Test for Language Comprehension, for example, measures language comprehension. Another type of instrument, such as that developed by the Southwest Cooperative Educational Laboratory (SWCEL), measures language production skills. In and of itself, neither instruments is an adequate measure of language ability. To elaborate, comprehension tests do not measure the child's ability to produce the target languge. Grammer vocabulary and pronunciation tests, on the other hand, do not adequately assess the bilingual child's overall ability to communicate. In fact, only one language measure, the Bilingual Syntax Measure, elicits natural speech from the child. Other instruments require that the child, in her/his response to test questions use complete sentences, ignoring the fact that this does not reflect language form in natural communication. Researchers such as Cohen (in press) have called for more varied language tests -- multidimensional instruments that integrate a variety of skills related to language use and the child's ability to both encode and decode information in free speech.

Another set of problems associated with testing instruments for the SS/S child is related to the common practice of adapting a test to an SS/S population that was originally designed for and standardized on a non-SS/S population. For example, the two most commonly used instruments in the preschool program summarized in Appendix A (The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, and the Metropolitan Readiness Test) have not been standardized on SS/S subgroup children. That is, a representative sample of these SS/S children has not been included in the population on which the test was standardized. Thus, norms for these tests are not appropriate for assessing the performance of the SS/S child. Translating tests from English to Spanish is another common technique for adapting tests to the SS/S population. However, as Padilla and Ruiz (1973) claim, too little attention has been given to the subtleties involved in translating from one language to another. Translations, for example, may obscure meaning especially if the translator fails to select colloquialisms which communicate more effectively than standard Spanish translations. Platt and Diaz (1975) who analyzed the Spanish translated versions of the PPVT (Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test) found that translation had altered the levels of test item difficulty. An additional problem not to be overlooked in the standardized tests currently used with SS/S children is that of cultural bias. More specifically, this bias may be seen in the inclusion of information items that may be unfamiliar to some SS/S children.

In addition to the need for experimental research in preschool programs, there is a recognized need for basic research to be conducted within BL/BC preschools. For example, in some project reports there are indications that SS/S children enter the BL/BC preschool as Spanish-speakers, but after two years, these same children prefer to use English at school. We need basic sociolinguistic research to examine the variables contributing to this possible shift in language use by some SS/S children. Until such research is systematically conducted, we can only speculate on the possible explanations for this shift. One explanation may be that the shift is due to the program curriculum. Children will not continue to use Spanish at school when it is built into the curriculum for only a few minutes a day. The shift may likewise reflect parental attitudes towards bilingual education. Parents may, in fact, see bilingual training as a means of developing English skills and proficiency in their children. This is documented by the evaluation report from Santa Barbara where one of the teachers who always spoke Spanish to the children met with resistance from parents who insisted that their children needed to learn English. The shift may reflect changing language patterns in the home as well. Politzer and Ramirez (1975) have found that if Spanish is not maintained in the home, the child will begin to favor English, even though enrolled in a BL/BC program. We have little information on what parents expect from BL/BC programs, how these expectations may influence language shift or language maintenance in preschool and how these expectations vary with the time spent in the program. Such information is crucial to the effective implementation of BL/BC education.

An equally important question that apparently has not been addressed by program administrators is whether parental expectations differ between immigrant SS/S parents and first or later generation SS/S parents. We have some indication that parents do differ in expectations when this variable is considered. What is necessary is a refinement of this issue in the design of programs, especially when parents are encouraged to participate in policy-making and program implementation. Thus, our concern is whether parents change their attitudes with the enrollment of their children in bilingual/bicultural preschool programs and whether there are generational differences in attitudes. Because teacher attitudes and expectations may likewise influence the effectiveness of a BL/BC program. Without belaboring the point, a set of basic research questions can also be asked about cognitive development and changes in socialization among children as a function of exposure to preschool BL/BC programs. Research questions pertaining to the areas of language and cognitive growth as well as social and emotional development have been discussed at length in Section III and IV of this paper.

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